ADVERSARIA:

OR,

Truths Oppoſed

To ſome of the

FALSHOODS

Contain'd in a BOOK, call'd,

The Rights of the Chriſtian Church Aſſerted, &c.

BY

CONYERS PLACE, *M. A.*

NUMB. XVI. 10, 11.

— And ſeek ye the Prieſthood alſo?
— And what is Aaron that ye murmure againſt him?

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IN

IN
ANSWER
TO THE
PREFACE,

The Author introduceth himſelf thus.

NOthing is more diſputed at preſent, than who is the beſt Churchman, both High and Low Church laying claim to it; and therefore it can't be doubted but both will approve my deſign in ſetting this diſpute in a fair light, &c.

The diſingenuity of which lies ſo full in my way at firſt, I cannot paſs it without Notice, becauſe 'tis not only ſo groſs, but ſo unfortunate, and even ſtupid, that he cou'd not think any Mortal Reader in his Senſes would believe what he ſays to be true, any more than he himſelf did, That he was moved to write his Treatiſe from a tender concern, alas for Religion, and eſpecially for the Church of *England*; and that the end of it

was to be a Pacificatory to reconcile High and Low Church, by setting things in a fair light between them, *viz.* by shewing them that pair of hopeful ——s that neither of them understand what it is they contend for. I know but one way by which he can look any thing like a Protestant Reconciler, and that is indeed a very effectual way, by utterly removing the Cause, and taking out of the way the bone of Contention, Religion it self, which wou'd indeed extinguish all present Animosities of that kind, and prevent 'em for the future to the purpose; tho' I hope in God it may preterintentionaly have an effect that way, and that both sides will find it high time to agree, when they see such kind of Arbitrators begin to step in.

His making such a lame shift to satisfy the World why he writ, and amusing us with the pretence of such an unlikely motive, show's it was from other kind of impulses which he thought fit to conceal, tho' he might e'en as well have fairly told us, since his Book every where does it for him.

And for his making so Cock-sure as he does of Applause and Congratulation from both High and Low Church, (*it can't be doubted but both will approve my design*) one may boldly back the Gentleman's Sense so far against his Sincerity, as to say, (Tho' the promoting of Truth is declar'd his only design) that he will receive an Address of Thanks from High Church as soon as he expected, and that the abhorrence of both High, Low, and all good Men to his Design, is no disappointment to him.

The

The Summ of the Preface amounts to these two Propositions which he pretends to establish.

First, That the Church of *England* being Establish'd by Acts of Parliament, is a perfect Creature of the Civil Power, meaning the Polity and Discipline of it; this we have in so many words, towards the end of this First Paragraph.

Secondly, That an Independent Power in the Clergy, is contrary to, and inconsistent with, both the Ancient Laws and Civil Constitution of the Nation, and the present Constitution of both Church and State; and that all the Power of the Ministry is deriv'd from and dependent on the Parliament.

First, Therefore this worthy asserter of the Church's Rights, and Zealous Son of the Church by Law Establish'd, gives us this filial Account and Character of his Mother the Church of *England*, the best and soundest Branch of the Church Catholick, prefer'd by himself by mature choise to all others; That she is a Creature neither of God's making, nor Christ's instituting; but devis'd, put together, and set a going by our Government; who as they put up the Religious Stale, so they are to take the hint, that they have right to take it down again when they list: A versatile Tool to fright Gulls from infesting the Government, to be dress't for the purpose, this way or that, as may best sute the Genius of the Age, which he that looks for in Scripture, Fathers or Councils, begins his work at the wrong end, and runs a great way back to no purpose, since all the Councils this his

Church need own the Authority of, is that of *Westminster*, whose Acts, preferable to those of the Apostles, are its truest Gospels, as the Lawyers Explications of them must be the best Divinity and liveliest Oracles; and as the Church has heretofore lent the Law the Name of *Clerk*, so his Divinity gives the Law an opportunity of repaying the Debt, by lending it the Name of *Church-Lawyers*, as most proper for its Divines.

This is the first *Christian Right of the Church of* England *Asserted*, bringing her Nature and Original into a fair light, and rescuing her from the Barbarous Character she lay under, of being of a Divine Model and Institution.

That the Church and Religion of *England* is a perfect Creature of the Civil Power, is the Idol Notion to which the Author has Sacrific'd all his Pains, the Sum and Substance of what he has to say, spoke all at once; and because he pretends to clench this Scurrilous Character affixt to the Church, with what he wou'd have thought a Demonstrative Reason, (being Establish'd by Acts of Parliament) I shall therefore

First, Indeavour to show the vanity and nullity of his pretended Consequence; 'Tis Establish'd by Acts of Parliament, *ergo*, the perfect Creature of the Civil Power.

Secondly, The absolute falshood of the Scandalous Position it self, That the *Church of England* is the Creature of the Civil Power, as to her Polity and Discipline; tho' the Author makes a broad sign that he wou'd say the whole Church is so, Doctrine as well as Discipline,

Discipline, and has nothing in her beyond Humane Constitution, and does say so, only he cures it with an after Salvo of a draw-back, of I mean her Polity and Discipline; which Limitation allow'd, let us see the strength of the Consequence by which he proves the Church to be a perfect Creature of the Civil Power, which is, because Establish'd by Acts of Parliament. In showing the vanity and nullity of which Consequence, let us first assertain the sense of the terms Polity and Discipline, perfect Creature.

By perfect Creature, I suppose the Author means what the natural import of the words is, and what is at other times understood by them, something whose Being was wholly at first given to it, and which intirely depends upon another whose Creature it is, by whom it was Originally produc'd, without any antecedent Being of its own, and which the support of that which is affirm'd to have made, and maintains it, being withdrawn, falls of course to nothing. This, as far as I apprehend, is what is imply'd in the Notion of a Creature, at least of that which is perfectly so.

By Polity and Discipline of the Church, I take to be meant to whatever relates to the Government of the Church, its Administration, the outward Face, Model, and Body of it, all that by which she appears and is visible, and whatever in short is not purely and speculatively Doctrinal.

Now whether the *Church of England*, meaning her Polity and Discipline, be the perfect

Creature of the Civil Power or no, it certainly does not appear ſhe is ſo by vertue of the Author's Conſequence, becauſe ſhe is Eſtabliſh'd by Acts of Parliament, a Reaſon ſo good, that one may with much more truth turn the concluſion quite t'other way, and ſay, That the Churches Polity and Diſcipline are Eſtabliſh'd by Acts of Parliament, and therefore are not the perfect Creatures of the Civil Power; for if they were never ſo much of Divine Inſtitution, What cou'd the Parliament do more for 'em than Eſtabliſh 'em? And what greater Evidence can they give of their thinking them ſo, than their Choice of them by Eſtabliſhment?

The Acts are rather the Creatures of the Churches Polity and Diſcipline, which is at leaſt in a great meaſure true; for the Churches Polity and Diſcipline were the cauſe of the Production of thoſe Acts, for whoſe ſake, and upon whoſe account, they were made, which gives 'em their being, and but for which, they never had been; take away the Churches Polity and Diſcipline, and the Acts that Eſtabliſh 'em ceaſe of courſe; but take away the Acts, (which God forbid the experiment) the Churches Polity and Diſcipline wou'd I hope not wholly fail. The moſt that can be made of Eſtabliſhing, is to approve, confirm, authorize, enjoyn, ſettle ſomething which already is made and prepar'd, which are all ſecondary Acts, whoſe force goes no farther than backing and ſecuring things approv'd of, but by no means reaches the primary Production, Creation, or furniſhing out eſſentially either the matter or form that things

conſiſt

conſiſt of, or any thing ſufficient to make what is eſtabliſh'd the Creature of the Eſtabliſhers, or meer Dependents, without other Conſiderations took in along with it.

Eſtabliſhing is no Hinderance indeed, but what is eſtabliſh'd may alſo be its Creature, and have been before made by the Eſtabliſhers; but ſtill Eſtabliſhing and Making are different Acts, and give diſtinct Ideas; Eſtabliſhing alone, is ſo far from arguing the eſtabliſh'd its Creature, that it very well does the contrary, as it ſuppoſes the Thing eſtabliſh'd to have been before, unleſs the Creature can in order of time preceed its Creator, which is indeed the Caſe of the *Church of England*, in reſpect to the Acts and Civil Powers eſtabliſhing her.

If the Argument were allow'd to proceed, 'tis eſtabliſh'd by Law or Canon, therefore 'tis this and t'others Creature, not only the Churches Polity and Diſcipline, but the *Creed*, *Articles*, all *Divine Truth*, the *Canon of Scripture*, nay, the *Attributes* and *Being of God himſelf*, not accepted, are drawn into this Blaſphemous Character, of being the perfect Creatures of Humane Power, ſince they have been, and are capable of being eſtabliſh'd, and fenc'd round with Laws, and ſecur'd by Civil Sanctions, which there is but too much Reaſon to do to the moſt Sacred of them at preſent with repeated Vigour.

Religion had much better ſtand alone upon its own Legs, without the ſupport of ſecular Aſſiſtances, if it can purchaſe Pro-

tection at no cheaper Rate from the Civil Hand, than that of submitting to be thought its perfect Creature.

'Tis indeed a fine Title the Author has found out for our Parliament, and a much more magnificent one than the Pope has bestow'd upon our Crown; for to be *Creator of the Church's Polity and Discipline*, far exceeds being *the Defender of her Faith*; which I shou'd by no Means envy to that great Assembly, were I sensible it cou'd in any good sense be admitted; for far from me, are thoughts of wishing Religion withdrawn, in any of its Parts, out of the Hands of the Civil Power, or short'ning Mens Opinion of that Just Authority, which God and Nature have given it in Religion, or not readily ascribing to it whatever Rights of interesting it self in Religion, and of Empire in the Church, the Laws of my Country have agreeably to God's Law, vested our Supream Magistrate withal. Very great Things may truly be said of the Influences which the Supream Power every way has upon Religion, and God has made his Commission very large, and the less reason to exceed its proper Bounds, and the Church of *England* of all others, is the least chargeable with Defect in that Particular, but rather with Excess, owning the Supream Power uncontrolable, and irresistible, to which, with all the deference of grateful Acknowledgment, she ought and does submit her self, as that on which next under Christ she depends, and to whose Favour

Favour and Protection, next under Providence, ſhe owes both the Original and Security of her Conſtitution, not only Polity and Diſcipline, but Doctrine too; ſhe owns the Supream Magiſtrate her Head, in a ſound ſenſe, her Guardian, her Nurſing-Father or Mother, but by no means her Natural Parent by Generation or Production; an Original, that tho' any other worldly thing might be proud of, is yet but a ſcandalous Parentage for a Church and Religion; and the Author, I believe, cannot produce a Parallel Inſtance of any Church Chriſtian, or any Religion whatſoever, that ever ſubmitted to ſuch a Character as this he Compliments the Church of *England* withal, or had the like put upon it, unleſs by way of reproach by its Enemies. Which in truth is the Caſe here: For the Papiſts (not conſidering how glad they were to have their Religion eſtabliſh'd by Parliament in Queen *Mary*'s Days, and how proud withal their Hearts they wou'd be, to have ſo again their Rule of Faith and Opinions approv'd of by Parliament, and as if it were not every where ſo, where their Religion prevails, to have it ſeconded and ſtrengthn'ed by the Civil Powers) us'd to caſt it, as the greateſt Reproach they cou'd think of, upon our Reformation, That it was eſtabliſh'd by Parliament, tranſacted by Negociation there, calling our Biſhops Parliamentary Biſhops, and the whole Religious Conſtitution, Parliamentary, impoſing the ſame Paralogiſtical Inference upon us, from its legal Conſtitution

ſtitution, that our Author (borrowing it from them, and taking it up when they have laid it down) does: That by being Eſtabliſh'd by Parliament, it was the perfect Creature of the Civil Power: That the Legiſlature were its original Authors, Founders, Inſtitutors; but as often as objected, ſo often has the ridiculous Calumny been rejected with Scorn and Indignation. And for a pretended Aſſerter of her Rights after all, to take upon him, as in her Name, to make a Conceſſion ſhe has always reſented as opprobrious, and admit what her Patrons and Apologiſts have wip'd off, as the Froth of Scandal, flying out of the Mouths of Foaming Popiſh Prieſts, and Raving Jeſuits, ſhows him a prevaricating Advocate, that plays conſent with a much worſe ——iſt, if he do not with the Papiſt, that deſires no greater Triumph than what the Author allows, That our Church is the perfect Creature of the Civil Power. As he has indeed made their ſilly Query, *Where was your Church before* Henry *VIII?* unanſwerable, and whatever notes to prove the Church of *England* a true Church, he has in reſerve, he has took the moſt effectual care he can, that ſhe ſhall have no Pretence to that which is an undiſpenſible one, True Antiquity of Diſcipline and Polity, which, as well as Doctrine, is requir'd. A Pleader of our Churches Cauſe, ſhou'd at leaſt whilſt ſo doing, if he thought not fit to anſwer it, yet have kept out of ſight a Blot ſo foul in her Judgment, and yet ſo falſe, and not have

have expoſed her, by blazoning it in his firſt Pages, for fear it ſhou'd not be hit upon, and maliciouſly confirming it.

For 'tis ſecondly, A Falſe and Malicious Poſition laid down, That the *Church of England*, as to her Polity and Diſcipline, is a perfect Creature of the Civil Power.

Under Polity and Diſcipline is comprehended, as has been ſaid, whatever in Chriſtianity is not meerly Doctrine, whatever relates to the Government of the Church, her whole external Frame, whatever as a Viſible Body ſhe conſiſts of, and whatever as ſuch She and Her Members are acted and mov'd by. Now whoever ſays, that all this is the perfect Creature of the Civil Power, in effect ſays the whole Church is ſuch, ſince all that we ſee of the Church, all that falls under our Senſes, all that is Audible, Viſible, and he may as well ſay Doctrine too, ſince all that is Practical, in which all regular Action, that is the End of Doctrine, is concluded. The Viſible Church, according to our Article (*Article* 19.) is a Congregation of Faithful Men, in the which the pure Word of God is preach'd, and the Sacraments be duly adminiſtred, according to Chriſt's Ordinance, in all thoſe things that are requiſite to the ſame. Now the Preaching of the pure Word of God, and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, are both Matters of Polity and Diſcipline, and yet the Proſecution of 'em in all their Requiſites, according to Divine Direction, in flat Contradiction to Human Device and Inſtitution, is here declar'd

clar'd to be the Eſſential of a Church being truly Chriſtian; and if they are the perfect Creatures of the Civil Power, then is Chriſtianity it ſelf eſſentially ſuch; nay Diſcipline is not only by fair Conſtruction of the aforeſaid Article, but expreſly added by Name, as a Note of the Church, and admitted as ſuch, as well by our own, as other Proteſtant Churches. (*Willet Synop. Pap.* Notes of the Church.)

And the Church therefore, whoſe Polity and Diſcipline are perfect Creatures of the Civil Power, or any Humane Power, errs fundamentally, and by the Conſent of the whole Catholick Church, according to the ſenſe they have of Polity and Diſcipline, is no Church, nor true Member of Chriſt's Body. And the Author ſhou'd not make ſuch very ſlight things of Polity and Diſcipline therefore, as to ſay with a toſs'd up Noſe as he does, *Theſe have made all the Contention*, as if not worthy Chriſtians troubling themſelves about; nay, allowing 'em to be only what he ſays they are, *Creatures of the Civil Power, Legal Eſtabliſhments*, yet whilſt ſo, he makes 'em the common Objects of every Man's Care and Zeal to ſee upheld, as much as their Liberties and Properties, as they are their Countries Laws; but much more ſo, as they are alſo the Churches *Depoſitum*; which God hath made it the Duty of both the Civil and Eccleſiaſtial Power, not to create *de novo*, but preſerve and take care of.

Some

Some have divided the Scriptures into Doctrine and Diſcipline, as their conſtituent Parts; whether the Diviſion be juſt or no, matters not, ſince thoſe that leaſt approve it, that is all Chriſtian Churches in the World allow, that not only the bare Scheme and Icnography of Church Polity, but the main Body and Subſtance of it, is ſet down in the Scriptures, both as to Matter and Form, tho' the Rules being ſtill too general to reach all Caſes; and Univerſal, ſo as not particularly to ſuit the different and contrary ſenſe which Mankind have of things, in different Ages and Climates, whom the ſame Set of Circumſtances can never be entirely proper for; therefore a Power of Accomodation muſt, by the Nature and Reaſon of things, be ſuppoſed to be left to Church Governours, of this Polity and Diſcipline to Times and Perſons, and the Addition of ſuch ſubſervient Particularities, as from time to time, are found moſt convenient to the Being and Nature of the perpetual ſtanding Parts; but then as no Church ever look'd upon, ſo none ever call'd the thus Circumſtantiating and Fimbriating the general Form of Church Government, by the Name of the whole Polity and Diſcipline, nor can it with any more Propriety of Speech be term'd ſo, than the filling up the Vacuities of a Blank Bond, by adding Perſons Names and the Year of the Lord, can be call'd the whole Matter and Form of that Inſtrument; or a Picture can be call'd the Painter's Boys, who neither gave Face, Feature, nor Proportion to it,

but

but only fill'd up some of the Drapery, according as his Master had begun, with Colours he had mix'd for him. For Church Polity; so far as 'tis the Work of Humane Power, and rightly such, is but the Continuation of the main Lines of Divine Designation, whose Nature it ought to follow, and whose Name to be call'd by, being no farther justifiable than 'tis instituted with strickt regards to those, a supposed consonance at least *non repugnance* to which, so as to make a consistent Body together, being that which makes it lawful and approvable; but 'tis not left to Men to lay new Schemes of Polity, any more than to Coin new Articles of Faith; but only to produce the undetermin'd Strokes of the Divine Hand home to practice that way which they point, and to humour and branch them out into Circumstances most advantagiously suiting them.

Thus far all Christian Churches of consideration, both Protestants and Papists, agree about Church Polity and Discipline, That the Ground-work of them, and principal Parts, from which the whole ought to have Denomination, are not Human Creatures, but *Jure Divino*, of God's immediate Institution; and the Disputes about them are not, Whether they are of Divine Institution or not? but, How far, and which are so? (both Papist, Episcopal Protestant, and Presbyterian, each fathering their way of Regimen upon Christ, or his Apostles) and, What Liberties are left Men of Supplement and Addition, for

for particular application of them to Perſons and Things.

The Church of *Rome* aſſumes to her ſelf exceſſive liberties in this matter, for repreſenting the Scripture as deficient, not only in the acceſſory's, but neceſſary's of Regimen, and declaring her Acts and Power, Divine, Equal, nay, Superior to Scripture; ſhe impoſes what-ever new Rights and Ceremonies ſhe pleaſes, and advances the Authority of her Canons and Conſtitutions equal to the Writings of the Inſpired Pen-men, as proceeding from the Conduct of the ſame Infallible Spirit, lodg'd either in her Univerſal Church Monarch, or her Councels, ſecure by this means in her own account, againſt the Scandal of having ſo much of her Polity and Diſcipline, as really is ſo, thought the perfect Creatures of Human Power, but not in the account of others, whoſe great charge againſt her is, Her being ſo much as ſhe is of mere Human invention, and incumbring too much Religion with vain and needleſs Rites to little purpoſe, yet too much ſet by; and for this cauſe the *Church of England* has diſclaim'd her Communion, but with little reaſon, and to as little purpoſe, according to our Author, if ſhe continues her ſelf to be, what ſhe left the other for being, a Creature, tho' not a perfect one of Human Power, and that Power not ſo much as Eccleſiaſtical.

Our Presbyterian Diſſenters run into the contrary extreme to this, allowing nothing left to Human Authority, to Eſtabliſh in Church Polity and Diſcipline, which down to its

its minuteſt parts they will needs have Scriptural, and fancy they find it there, not only in general Rules, but in all its particular Circumſtances. Diſcipline with them, is ſo far from being the perfect Creature of Civil, or any Human Power, that 'tis all thro' ſacred, over which the Civil Magiſtrate has no other Power then to ſee it duly executed, which got 'em there old Diſciplinarian Title, and their Controverſies with the Church the ſame name; out of whoſe Maxim that nothing ought to be Eſtabliſh'd in the Church not Commanded in Scripture, have riſen all thoſe endleſs diſputes that have ſo harraſt the Church and diſtracted this poor Nation. They accuſed the *Church of England* of having here and there pieces of Polity and Diſcipline not Authorized by Divine Preſcript; but ſtill allow'd her ſome, nay, a large mixture in them, of what was originally Chriſtian and Apoſtolick; but the Articles they charge the Conſtitution with, put altogether, do not amount to half what this kind Aſſerter of her Rights here grants 'em for her, that ſhe's a perfect Creature of the Civil Power, which the moſt Inveterate from *T. C.* downward have had more Modeſty, or leſs Malice than to ſay, much leſs to prove; and the Author has both confirm'd and heighten'd their prejudice againſt the Conſtitution, and juſtified them more than all their profeſt Patrons, by granting not only all, but more than they have charg'd her with, to be true of her.

Before the Author advanc'd ſuch a daring Poſition, as in the Churches name, he ought beyond

beyond his own private judgment and feeble inference, to have had some Authority to have said this upon, and have shown us that the *Church of England* had either by some Publick Act own'd and declar'd her self to be what he calls her, or some of her Members of untainted fidelity, and unquestion'd judgment, had said as much before him; but on the contrary, we find the *Church of England* insisting on her true and pure Antiquity, and Glorying in it, appealing to that for the vindication of her Constitution, and its materials; and when (as she often has been) accus'd of Novelty, her answer to those that so accuse her, is, That she owns her self the Perfect Creature of none but Christ, acknowledges none for her Authors and Beginners, but Christ and his Apostles, the four Evangelists, and four first general Councils, and the Church of *Rome*, so far as agreeable to these, and not Superstitious.

Besides her present reform'd Constitution, as the word Reformation it self imports, is not a Creation or primary Production of things, the first upstart, but a Restitution and Reduction of them to their former estate; and our Reformation indeed, consisted almost intirely in rejection and abolition of what was Superfluous, and in re-admission and approbation of what already had obtain'd, but scarce at all in setting on foot, *de novo*, or forming new Creatures.

The *Church of England* indeed cuts the middle way between the licentiousness of Popery, and the rigour of Puritanisme, in

Polity and Discipline, she neither grants every thing, nor yet leaves any thing to Men to be Authors of in the management of Religion, as appears by her Declaration in her Twentieth Article, which is, That the Church hath Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, which comes far short of the instituting all Polity and Discipline; for Rites and Ceremonies rise but at most to be the inferior parts of Polity and Discipline, the Circumstances that attend them as the Shadow does the Substance, but are not the whole things themselves, are but as the Trimming to the Suit, and the Limitation of the Churches Power to the determination of these as the utmost of what's left to her, supposes the rest out of her Power, and shows her sence of its being of a Superior and Divine Original; yet even in the exercise of this Power which she declares belonging to her, she has proceeded with that Caution and Modesty, that very few of those indifferent mutable parts of her Polity and Discipline, and those Rites and Ceremonies which she has made choice of to maintain, order and cloath God's Worship withal, can be called Creatures of her own or her Reformers, being most of them of Primitive and Venerable Antiquity, such as had attended the Christian Religion down from its first Centuries; and where any thing is proper to her, and purely what the Author says of the whole, a Creature of her own; of which sort is nothing she insists on as necessary or essential to her Constitution, such as some of the inferior Articulations of Episcopacy,

piscopacy, to make it more natural to her Members by attempering it to the form of the Civil Government, and to make the Church shut more closely in with the State, which is observ'd to be common to her with all Churches, to take into their Regimen some of the Air of the Commonwealth they are included in, and assimilate themselves even insensibly to its humour; and the Authors Position therefore, That the *Church of England*, meaning her Polity and Discipline, being Establish'd by Acts of Parliament, for that or any other reason is a Perfect Creature of the Civil Power, is utterly and scandalously false, neither agreable to truth nor the Establishments sense, nor that of any Christian Church, nor even to that of her greatest and most profest Enemies, who allow her a fairer Character; but is to all appearance a design'd Reproach to expose the Constitution to the irrision of her Enemies, the Scoffs of Atheists, to raise the Vulgar Indignation against it and its Ministers, whom he well knows the apprehension of a Religion coming immediately from God, only awes into Cordial Veneration and Observance; so that Authors of false Religions have found it necessary to dissemble their Institutions being their Creatures, when they were most so, and Counterfeit a Divine Original, the trick he gives us to understand has been play'd with the *Church of England* by the Clergy, in what relates especially to themselves, till he has now at last pull'd off the Disguise, stript her of her Counterfeit Divinity, and show'd her

openly to the People no better than what she is, and instead of fetching her down by a long and shining Pedigree drawn thro' Ages, back to the Primitive Church, by the Apostles to Christ, from Heaven, which one might have expected from an Asserter of her Rights, has pronounced her an Earth-born Creature of a Century or two standing, no better than a by-blow of Christianity, that came abroad in the Liberties of *Westminster*; and if ruining her Character, and destroying her very Being as a true Church, be Asserting her Rights, the Author has effectually done it.

Let us try lastly the Truth of the Author's Assertion inductively, against the chief parts of the Churches Polity and Discipline, which are Three, the Sacraments, Episcopacy, and Liturgy.

First, For the Sacraments which come within the Author's terms of Polity and Discipline, and are therefore pronounc'd perfect Creatures of the Civil Power.

That they had not their Institution first from the Civil Power, the Author I suppose will not say, But do they depend on that Power, in any of their Constituent Causes? That is, either in their Matter or Form, or instrumental Cause, or their Use? All which essential requisites of their Constitution, if they are perfect Creatures of the Civil Power, ought to be deriv'd to 'em from that Power, at least one or more of them; for that wou'd bring the Civil Power into Copartnership of Creation with Christ, if without that Power the Church had not committed to her all things

things necessary to their Production and Administration.

First, As to their Matter, Water, Bread, and Wine, the Author I presume will grant them to be intirely God's Creatures, and not the Civil Powers, either as to their Nature, or Sacramental Being from Institution.

And I hope will do the like favour to the forms of Consecration and Institution, which gives the matter its Sacramental Nature, when other things are rightly dispos'd and apply'd, and say, he believes them to be only Christ's; and for the Prayers and Rites, they are Circumstances only added along with the words of Institution and Consecration, in the order of Administration appointed by our Church, not of necessity, as if the being or vertue of the Sacraments consisted in them; but without which they might be perfect Sacraments, and truly Administer'd, being only added to make the Action more solemn, and as incentives of Devotion, proper formalities of Access and Recess, and that the holyest Mysteries of our Religion might not stand so naked and bare, as to be rudely rush'd in upon, either without previous Cautions of Introduction, nor Men abruptly go off from them after the receipt of the greatest Pledges of the Divine Love, and Seals of their Redemption, without the decency of Thankful Acknowledgment ere they retire.

Yet even those Accessaries, whether they be Rites and Ceremonies, which the Church confesses to have had their Beginning from Man indeed; but from Men long ago, which

she did not devise but only retains, and are no farther her Creatures, then not Abolishing makes them such; or whether Forms of Prayer and Devotion, they are either verbally taken from Scripture, presidented by Scripture, or recommended by use of the Primitive Church upon like occasions, little being the Composition of our Reformers.

Another thing upon which the Sacraments depend, is their Instrumental Cause, or Persons duly Authoriz'd to Administer them, by applying the forms to the matter, and performing such Action as is necessary for their Production and Administration, this Authorization is the effect of Ordination. which I shall here so far only speak of as it respects the Sacraments, and show that it cannot depend upon the Civil Power; it is by vertue of this Instrumental Cause, that the Author wou'd draw in the Sacraments to be Creatures of the Civil Power, and admitting that the Authority by which Ministers apply the Forms to the Elements, and whereby they constitute and dispence them, are derived from the State, then indeed does also follow that abominable Conclusion, That the Sacraments are indeed, as the Author says, the Creatures and Creation of the Civil Power, tho' not perfectly so, because the Civil Power has lodged in its hands one of their Causes, and such a Negative without which they can no more be, then without their form or matter: But then there follows at the same time also this inconsistency, that the Churches definition of a Sacrament, common to her with all Churches,

Establish'd

Eſtabliſh'd alſo by Law, and confirmed by the ſame Civil Power, is falſe and erroneous, to wit, That the Sacraments were ordained of Chriſt himſelf, ſince it ſhou'd be by Chriſt and the Parliament at leaſt; for to be ordained by Chriſt, can ſignify no leſs than that Chriſt is the Author of all that's neceſſary to their being Sacraments, which is not true, unleſs Chriſt, as he inſtituted the matter and form, order'd alſo Inſtruments to make the Application, and Commiſſion'd or Commanded ſome or other whoſe buſineſs and duty it became, to put his Preſcripts in Execution, by the addition of neceſſary Action; otherwiſe the form and matter might never have effectually come together, becauſe Sacraments not having a Phyſical being or vertue, ſuch as ariſes from the qualities or habitudes of the matter, form, or action conſtituting them, but what is wholly from Inſtitution, and Divine Commiſſion, therefore an accidental meeting of all their cauſes cannot produce them, nor a deſigned one neither, unleſs in that way, and by thoſe Inſtruments brought together, to which their inſtitutor who has made them not neceſſarily follow from their cauſes, has limited them, and Men might with equal proſpect of ſucceſs make uſe of ſome of the inconſiderable natural means our Saviour ſometimes made uſe of to work his Miracles, in hope the like ſtrange effects would follow, as pretend to the Confection or Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, whoſe effects are as much above their apparent cauſes, had not beſides the inſtitution of the mat-

ter and form, a-do this, and a-go and Baptize, been added as special Commissions; upon which Commissions hangs all mens assurance, that they either have Sacraments; or that those Sacraments have those effects which are proper to them.

That the Sacraments have more in them than the simple Acts or their natural Causes amount to, is the Doctrine of the *Church of England* by Law Establish'd, confirm'd by Act of Parliament, the definition settled by the Civil Power in the Catechism of a Sacrament being, that their is an inward and spiritual Grace given to us, and convey'd by the outward and visible signs; now this Communication of Grace being a supernatural effect, and having no connexion with its causes, it follows, that the Sacraments are standing Miracles, and as true ones as any Christ wrought; and the reason why the Church continues to do these and no other, why, for instance, Christians do not as well make Clay of Spittle to annoint Eyes for Blindness, or put their Fingers in Deaf Ears, and cry *Ephatha*, as convey Grace by the Sprinkling of Water, or the recieving Bread and Wine, is, that Christ has Commanded these to be done and continued, and not those; without which Command one might as well be attempted as the other, so that 'tis a special Divine Commission from Christ only by which the Church has right to the Sacraments; now this Commission must be a power that Men naturally have not, and therefore independent on all Civil or Human Authority whatever, who can no more

more Commiſſion Men to Adminiſter the Sacraments, than to raiſe the Dead, or forgive Sins; and 'tis alſo manifeſt, that there can be no true Sacraments, unleſs adminiſter'd by thoſe that have a fair title to do what they do by vertue of Chriſt's Commiſſion; and ſuppoſing therefore the Chriſtian Clergy (as has been the receiv'd ſence of the Church) to be the Perſons Commiſſion'd by Chriſt to this Work, it is juſtly admitted as a good conſequence upon it, That were there is no lawful Miniſtry, there can be no true Sacraments, tho' they are Adminiſtred rightly both as to matter and form, and by Perſons furniſh'd with all the Authority for the work that Civil Power can give them, becauſe of the failure of Divine Commiſſion in the Inſtrument, without which 'tis impoſſible for Human Power to warrant the Production of a Supernatural effect.

Chriſt's Commiſſion being therefore indeſpenſably requiſite to the performance of Sacramentary Actions, nothing elſe being capable of bearing a Man out, either ſo as to excuſe thoſe who, without ſuch Commiſſion, ſhou'd attempt thoſe Actions, from Blaſphemous Preſumption, or create in thoſe to whom they apply them, any rational hope that they ſhou'd have the ſupernatural effects that are annex'd to them; and allowing therefore the utmoſt that can be allow'd, That the Miniſtry have no Power to Adminiſter the Sacraments but what's derived to them from the Civil Power, yet ſtill, neither the Sacraments nor their Adminiſtration can be Creatures of that Power,

Power, but of Christ, by vertue of whose Commission they must act, to which Commission it will be no easy matter I believe for the Civil Power to make out any tolerable Title, or show which way it comes to be included in it, which *Erastus* himself was so sensible of, that he found himself necessitated to allow the Ministry, *Jure divino.*

The Civil Power, as such, cannot have any Title to Christ's Commission; for Civil Magistrates, as such, are no Christians, and 'tis absur'd to imagine, that Sacraments being Essential to the being of his Church, Christ shou'd not think her worthy to have the care of them trusted to her within her self, but commit them to a Foreign Society, and leave his Church precariously to borrow from the State those Powers without which her Body must be dissolved; the power of admitting Members by Baptism, and giving them their Spiritual meat in due Season by the Lord's Supper a right to do both, which within her self from Christ, independent of the Civil Power, if the Christian Church have not, this worthy Asser. ter might have saved himself the trouble of obliging her by asserting any other Rights she may have, for what other Rights can a Body Natural or Politick have, that has not what is the foundation of all Rights, a right to be, and to do the consequent Acts by which being is supported. Is it likely Christ shou'd leave the Keys of his Kingdom in their Hands, who have no Right to go in themselves? Or leave his Family

Family to ſtand to the allowance which a Heathen, or unbelieving Magiſtrate, ſhou'd from time to time pleaſe to order to be diſpenced, in whom it ſhou'd lye to ſtop or open the Conduits of Grace? This would be making *Cain Abel*'s Keeper, delivering *Sarah* to *Hagar*, and ſubjecting the Free-woman to the Bond-woman. And tho' it be allow'd, that Chriſt did not Officer his Church himſelf, 'tis a barbarous Thought, that he turn'd it over to Foreign Powers to do it, and left not Chriſtians among 'em the Liberty of creating their own Officers.

In the Church therefore, we are to look for all Power neceſſary for the Being of the Church; of which ſort is the Power of Adminiſtring the Sacraments.

The Perſons immediatly Commiſſion'd by Chriſt at firſt to adminiſter his Sacraments, were the Apoſtles, that their Commiſſion was not perſonal, but perpetual, muſt be granted by thoſe that allow the Church any Sacraments, becauſe they have been ever ſince, and are continued by vertue of the ſame Authority and Command which Chriſt then gave, and never ſince repealed.

The Apoſtles were either thus Commiſſion'd by Chriſt as proper Officers, or as the whole Church repreſentative; if as proper Officers, who ſucceſſively were to convey to others the Power Chriſt gave them for the Uſe of his Church, excluſively to all other Chriſtians, which has been the conſtant ſenſe of the Church, then none but the Clergy have any appearance of Claim to that Commiſſion, as being

being the only pretended Succeſſors of the firſt Truſtees, and whoſe Title, whatever interruptions of its ſucceſſional Conveyance may be pretended, muſt, if the Church have any Sacraments, be ſtuck to as the beſt, there being no other; and whoever the Apoſtles repreſented, when Chriſt Commiſſion'd them to diſpence his Sacraments, and St. *Peter*, when Chriſt gave him the Power of the Keys, 'tis of all others moſt unlikely, that it was the ſecular Magiſtrate, whom we never find once named upon the Liſt of Church-Officers, and whom they or he was no more like, then he was the Modern Pope of *Rome*; and by what Revolutions it ſhou'd come to the Civil Powers Hands, or paſs from its firſt Grantees to the State, ſo as to deſcend to the Miniſtry from them, is an unaccountable Myſtery. It muſt either be by forfeiture, expiration of Term, or the firſt Truſt ſome way vacated, or the firſt Commiſſion revoked and a new one iſſued out, or ſome ſuch extraordinary way, tho' never yet heard of, that only can give a colour of right to any in another Line of Succeſſion than from the Apoſtles; and the Commiſſion of adminiſtring the Sacraments, could not therefore be granted to the Apoſtles as Church-Officers, but as the whole Church repreſentative, if the Civil Powers are now next under Chriſt the Fountains of that Adminiſtration, and the Clergy derive it thence.

For indeed, if Chriſt Commiſſion'd the Apoſtles, as they were the Church repreſentative, to adminiſter his Sacraments, then every

every Member of the Church is equally impower'd and concern'd, as common Truſtees of the *Depoſitum*, either to adminiſter them themſelves, or, for publick order ſake, to appoint thoſe that ſhould do ſo for them and the whole Body, and ſo every Magiſtrate, as he is a Chriſtian, comes in for his Share in the common Right, and by the Concorporation of the Two Societies, and letting the Church into the State, the Chief Powers may be ſuppoſed intitled to a farther Intereſt in Church Affairs, even beyond the common Supremacy, which depends not on Religion, as by tacite conſent (for expreſs Contract there can none be pretended) the Magiſtracy have lodg'd in them the Rights of the whole Society, and by the Nature and Deſign of Government may exerciſe for the People, and in their Names, what, tho' every ſingle Member has a right to do for himſelf, yet for large Bodies becomes inconvenient, or inpracticable to be ſo done; and 'tis but reaſonable to think, that if Chriſt lodg'd in the whole Church the Power of adminiſt'ring his Sacraments, or impowering others to adminiſter them, that he alſo conſented and deſign'd that the exerciſe of that Power ſhould devolve to thoſe Governours to whom Societies, in parallel Caſes referr'd themſelves, when the Inumerouſneſs of the Members of any Church made it otherwiſe inconvenient; for otherwiſe, tho' Chriſt did make every Chriſtian ſo far a Prieſt, as to have right to adminiſter the Sacraments, by commiſſioning the Apoſtles as the Church repreſentative, the

the Sacraments, tho' they might be call'd the Churche's Creatures, as their Adminiſtration depends on their Deputation, yet they cou'd not be call'd the Civil Power's.

Againſt this new Notion of Chriſt lodging the Power of adminiſtring his Sacraments equally in the Body of his Church, letting the uſual Arguments alone, I ſhall only ſay, that 'tis contrary to the Notion and Nature of a Commiſſion, which implies a particular and extraordinary Power given to ſome beyond others, in the ſame Society; and for the Head of a Society to commiſſion all its Members to officiate for themſelves, and each other, the ſame things, and to give them all a Power, which in the foreſeen Progreſs of that Society they neither each would be capable of perſonally exerciſing, nor yet of making a Deputation to others but by Repreſentatives; and that Chriſt ſhou'd leave the Care of his Sacraments and Power over them, with thoſe that could neither uſe it themſelves, nor depute others immediately to uſe it for them, looks not very like the Inſtitution of the Author of Order, and is much leſs agreeable to that Character of Faithfulneſs in all his Houſe beyond *Moſes*, which is given to Chriſt.

A Third cauſe of the Sacraments is their Uſe, for 'tis the declared Doctrine of ours, with other Proteſtant Churches, that the Sacraments have no Being but in their Uſe, and thoſe therefore that can hinder their Uſe, can deſtroy their Being, to whoſe Indulgence they therefore owe it, and whoſe Creatures

Creatures they are; but tho' the Civil Powers interdict, or Incouragement on the other Hand, may influence the Publick Use of the Sacraments as to more or less, yet none can affirm that the Prohibitions of all the Civil Powers on Earth, either *de Jure* ought to, or *de Facto* can, stop the Administration of them, since it has been a tried Case too long, and too often.

So that the Sacraments, in none of their constituent causes, depend on the Civil Power, and the Author's representing them its Creatures, is false and scandalous, since nothing but a Divine Commission, which some or other must have, can bear out the Administrators of them; which Divine Commission the Author begrudging the Clergy, as too singular an Honour and Advantage for them to enjoy, whilst he lodges it inherently in all Church-Members, he no ways mends the matter, but gives them still the same Power he so industriously wou'd prevent their having; and by granting every Christian the same Divine Right he declaims against as so intolerable in some, whilst he is ruining a few Priests, makes every Body so, unfortunately multiplying the Objects of his own Aversion, and so makes the Ministry the Civil Power's, Deputies, that that Power is first theirs.

If Magistrates, as such, that is, not being Christians, have the Ministerial Power depending on them, then all Christians are so far from being Priests, that none are so. And these Two marvellous Paradoxes are

eſtabliſh'd, That Chriſt's immediate Miniſters, as ſuch, are no Chriſtians; and Chriſtians, as ſuch, cannot be Chriſt's immediate Miniſters.

The Second Branch of the *Church of England*'s Polity and Diſcipline, which is its Pillar and Ground-Work, is Epiſcopacy, with its Subſerviences, as Branches iſſuing from this main Trunk, upon which let us try the Truth of the Author's affirming it the perfect Creature of the Civil Power.

Epiſcopacy, by its greateſt Enemies, is allow'd to be no Upſtart; ἐπίσκοπος, or Biſhop, is a Name given in Scripture, and to call therefore Church Governours ſo, is warranted by Divine Authority; and Epiſcopacy, ſince ſomething is meant by it of one ſort or another, therefore is of Divine Inſtitution, and the diſputes about Epiſcopacy are not ſo much whether 'tis by Divine Right or no, for that 'tis impoſſible to deny, as which is the true Epiſcopacy, and whether our Biſhops are the ſame kind of Officers, or ſuch as are there meant.

Thoſe who argue from the natural force of the Word, as it ſignifies an Inſpector or Overſeer, in which 'tis applied in Scripture in common to Presbyters, and other Church Officers, and wou'd not for that reaſon have it a Word of diſtinct Office and Dignity, but a common Name of Church Authority, and upon that ſcore reject it in that ſenſe of Eminence of Order and Office, that we, and the reſt of Chriſtendom, admit it in, do certainly make a moſt deſperate advance upon

ſlippery

ſlippery Ground, in that they charge the whole Chriſtian World againſt the moſt autoritative Evidence of Fathers, Councels and Eccleſiaſtical Writers, through, at leaſt, Fourteen of its Seventeen Centuries, with ignorance in Notion, and Error in Practice, upon this ſingle uncertain Dependance: That becauſe the Word Biſhop is applied in Scripture to Presbyters, in a looſer ſenſe, that therefore it was not alſo in a limited and reſtrained one, appropriate, by way of excellence, to a particular Prelate Order of Presbyters, eſpecially ſince 'tis ſo uſual for Words of a general Signification to have beſides, by appropriation to ſome one Species, a particular meaning, of which they have ſo home an Example in the Word *Presbyter*; which, tho' in its natural ſenſe it is a Word of Age, yet, by the ſame kind of Limitation, as that of the Word *Biſhop*, is applied to denote an Order and Office in the Church; and by the ſame Reaſon, by which they argue each Presbyter to be a Biſhop, they are oblig'd to allow every aged Chriſtian to be a Presbyter.

But whoever diſputes the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy, the Author, and every Man elſe that declares himſelf a Member of the *Church of England*, and is unfeignedly ſo, cannot do it, if he owns himſelf concluded by the legal Eſtabliſhment, whoſe known Characteriſtick and profeſt Doctrine, Epiſcopacy being *Jure Divino*, is; for the proof of which, I refer my ſelf, *Firſt*, to the *Collect* for *Ember Week*, confirm'd over and over by Parliament,

as follows: *Almighty God, the Giver of all good Gifts, who of thy Divine Providence hast appointed divers Orders in the Church*, &c. Here, by the Establishment of that Civil Power, whose Creature the Author would make the *Church of England*, 'tis in most solemn address to God declar'd, that divers Orders or Degrees of Officers in the Church are *Jure Divino*, of God's appointment, and consequently that the Bishops and Pastors of the *Church of England* are *Jure Divino*, and of God's appointment in her Governors Eyes; unless we should imagin that our Legislature, whilst they acknowledge divers Orders of Ministers in the Church of Divine Institution, made choice of none of them for themselves, but constitued others of Humane, rather than those Divine ones, and designedly created other kind of Bishops and Pastors of their own, different from those they declare of Christ or his Apostles institution.

Secondly, To the Preface to Ordination, That puts the Civil Power's sense of the Divine Right and Institution of the Clergy of the *Church of England* beyond all doubt. The Words are these: *That it is evident unto all Men reading the Holy Scripture and Ancient Authors, that from the Apostles time there have been these Orders of Ministers in the Christian Church, Bishops, Pastors, and Deacons*, &c. *and therefore to the Intent that these Orders may be continued, and reverently us'd and esteem'd in the Church of England, no Man*, &c. Here first, 'tis declar'd by Authority of the Civil Power, that it is not only true, but a clear

and

and undeniable Truth, that there are ſeveral Ranks of Church-Officers (*'tis evident to all Men.*) Secondly, That thoſe Officers have continued from the Apoſtles time, and that they are of Scriptural or Divine Inſtitution, ſince the Scripture is appeal'd to as clear Evidence for them (*'tis evident to all Men reading Scripture.*) Thirdly, Their perpetual Succeſſion is aſſerted, (*there have been from the Apoſtles time.*) And Fourthly, All claim and Pretence is as it were induſtriouſly renounced to their being Creatures of the Eſtabliſhment, that declares 'em the very Orders Chriſt or his Apoſtles at firſt inſtituted; and that the Interpoſition of the Civil Authority, is not any thing of a Creation, but Continuation only (*to the End they may be continued, and reverently eſteem'd in the Church of England.*)

Thoſe who leſs favour Epiſcopacy, tho' they will not allow it to be of Divine Right, yet acknowledge it to be of Apoſtolick, which I mention, becauſe the Author Sports himſelf with the Convocation, for adding Divine to Apoſtolick, (*Page* 53.) the diſtinction is *Grotius*'s (*Grot. de imp. ſum. pot.*) who himſelf allows Epiſcopacy to be by Apoſtolick, but not by Divine Right; nay, apoſtolically inſtituted and divinely approv'd, and yet not *Jure Divino*, tho' as near it as nothing can be more; but his nicety is, that *Quicquid probatur non Statim ſtatuitur*, which is certainly true enough, tho' in its Application to Epiſcopacy it does not hold good, nor in relation to God, between whoſe Approbation declar'd, and Command, I cannot find any real difference.

By the eſtabliſh'd Doctrine of the *Church of England* therefore Epiſcopacy is *Jure Divino*, and the particular form of it in the *Church of England*, as well as the other Orders of her Clergy, are a declared Continuation by regular uninterrupted Succeſſion of the original Divine Inſtitution.

But ſuppoſing Biſhops were neither *Jure Divino* nor *Apoſtolico*, yet nothing but fulſom Prejudice or Ignorance can talk in the Author's Language, of the Modern Notion of Biſhops governing the Church by Divine Right, (*P.* 28.) or call the Order, the Creature of the Civil Power, that is notoriouſly older than the whole preſent Form of that Power, or any of its Parts in this Nation, that was before any of our preſent Laws or Law-givers; ſo much ancienter than all the Names or Titles of our Nobility, having been in *England*, long before there were any Houſe either of Lords or Commons to create 'em, with their Names, Powers, Rites, and Titles, abating the Civil Addition of Honour, as they are call'd Lords, and ſome Temporal Acceſſions that they owe to the favour of the State, tho' not ſo modernly neither, Epiſcopacy being ſo old in *England*, as not eaſily to be trac'd back; ſo much older than any other Political Materials beſide, or Offices under their preſent Names and Model in being, that Biſhops are more likely to have created the Civil Government, than that them.

The third Branch of the Church's Polity and Diſcipline, is her *Liturgy*, or Form of Pub-

Publick Worship, contained in the *Book of Common-Prayer*, with its Rites and Ceremonies, and the appendant Offices; which I willingly submit to the Author's Character, of being the Creature of the Civil Power, with these Reservations and Restrictions, to lighten the Imputation.

First, That Liturgy in general, or set Forms of Prayer and Publick Worship, are *Jure Divino*; that is, warranted by Scripture, and presidented by Scripture, which leaves Church Discipline not wholly discretional, and makes it of Divine Right, as to its general Nature.

Secondly, As to the Materials which our Liturgy is composed of, and may be resolv'd into, which are Doctrines, Forms, and Rites or Ceremonies. That,

First, As to what is Doctrinal, that arises out of the Churches Liturgy, that he will allow it to be sound and Orthodox; and being so, not to be the Creature of the Civil Power, but Divine Truth.

Secondly, As to the Forms, a great many of them being of Sacred Extraction and Injunction, and neither in the Power of Men to alter or lay aside, being took from Scripture. And for the rest, to give it to you in the Words of Mr. *H. L'Estrange: Our Liturgy, in the most, and those the noblest Parts (those of Sacred Extraction excepted) was extant in the Usage of the Primitive Church.* Or in the Words of King *James* the First, in his Proclamation for authorizing an Uniformity of the *Book of Common-Prayer: Justified out of*

the Practice of the Primitive Church, an Authority hardly inferior to Divine.

And for the Rites and Ceremonies, even they are not perfectly, nor all, the Creatures of the Civil Power; but some of them of an Institution superior to that of Humane. So says the Prefatory Discourse before the *Common-Prayer*, intitled, *Of Rites and Ceremonies*, why some are retain'd, and some abolish'd. Which begins thus:

Of such Ceremonies as be used in the Church, and have their Beginning from Man, &c. And again, *Other Ceremonies there are, which altho' they have been devised by Man*, &c. Now the Words, Such as have had their Beginning from Man, and others Devised by Man, plainly imply there are other Ceremonies us'd in the Church, that are not so, from which they are contra-distinguish'd, as the same is also repeated in the 34th Article, which gives the Church Power to change such Rites aud Ceremonies as were ordain'd only by Man's Authority; which cannot be meant of the Sacraments only, either of the one or the other, which as they wanted no such Cautions, no reason's to be given, why they are retain'd; so they would have been call'd Sacraments, rather than Ceremonies or Rites, (tho' they are such) had they alone been design'd.

These Exceptions will take off from the Liturgy a great deal of the ill meant Character, of being a perfect Creature of the Civil Power.

And the Author seems to have proportion'd his Character rather to the largeness of his ill will

will to the Clergy and Religion, than to the Meaſure of true Apprehenſion, when he aſſerted the whole Polity and Diſcipline of the Church a perfect Creature of the Civil Power, when ſo little of it is ſo, and that little only of the inferior quality, and not what's fundamentally ſuch; and it might have anſwer'd his End better, if he had contented himſelf to have fix'd the Character upon Particulars; but as thoſe that graſp at too much, by that means loſe all; ſo it fares with the Author, as it has often with Hereticks, whoſe unreaſonableneſs has uſually made 'em leſs miſchievous, and their Malice, by being boundleſs, has ſtood in its own light, and prov'd leſs fatal. *Amen.*

I proceed to the next thing propoſed, to ſhow the ineptitude and inſufficiency of the Author's Arguments in his Preface, to prove That *the Clergy of the* Church of England *have, by the Nature of our Conſtitution, no Divine Right of Church Power independent on the Civil Power, and not deriv'd to them ſolely from the Parliament*, Page 36.

This his Anti-chriſtian Poſition, ſo offenſive to pious Ears, ſo ſcandalous and contumelious to both the *Engliſh* Church and State, has in part been ſhown falſe by what has been offer'd againſt his former Propoſition, *That the* Church of England, *as to her Polity and Diſcipline, is a perfect Creature of the Civil Power*; where I indeavour'd to make it appear, That a poſitive Divine Com-

miſſion above, and independent on all Civil and Humane Power, is abſolutely neceſſary for the due Conſecration and Adminiſtration of the Holy Sacraments, and the Production of thoſe Effects which, 'tis univerſally agreed, follow from them; and the Civil Power having no Title to this Commiſſion, and yet the Sacraments in the *Church of England* being adminiſtred by virtue of ſuch Commiſſion, it therefore follows, that in the *Church of England*'s lawful Miniſtry, there is allow'd a Power not deriv'd to them from the Civil Power, but immediately from Chriſt; and 'tis moſt groſly rude in the Author, after this Power has ſo many times been publickly, ſolemnly, expreſly diſclaim'd of the Supream Magiſtrates, to force it point-blank back upon 'em, and ram their ab-renunciations of it, as a Lye, down the Throats of all our Princes ſince the Reformation.

This independent Power and Commiſſion muſt be primarily lodg'd in Church-Officers, unleſs we ſuppoſe Chriſt to have given it to thoſe that are uncapable of exerciſing it; for it may be laid down as an undoubted Maxim, That God never gave Power to thoſe that ought not to uſe it; nor commiſſion'd thoſe whom he never deſign'd ſhou'd act, and whom, however naturally capable and well qualified, he has forbid to uſe it, and to give Power to others, being more than to exerciſe its own ſelf, 'tis certain that none can do the former, and may not do the latter; and therefore the Miniſtry cou'd neither have

have the Power by which they administer the Sacraments, and I may put in Preach too, and do the other proper Works of their Calling, either from the People, or from our Chief Magistrate, if he will not take their Royal Words for it.

The People, or Community, cou'd not convey it to them; because if they cou'd do that, they cou'd also exercise it themselves, which is the less Power of the Two. But the Community cannot exercise it, because the Majority, or Two Thirds of them, are Women and Children, the latter naturally incapable, the former positively forbid; and the same Reason holds also against the Magistrate's exercise of the Ministerial Powers, and consequently against the Deduction of them from him; because the Magistrate may be a Woman, whom God has forbid to Preach, *&c.* and consequently not impower'd to do it, or impower others. And indeed, the Author by his Scheme, if allow'd (how far designedly I know not) shakes her Majesty's Title to the Crown, beyond all the Pretences of her Hypobolimæan Brother; for he manifestly establishes the Popish Doctrine, so much once insisted on against Queen *Elizabeth*, That a Woman can't be Head of the Church, nor invested with the Ecclesiastick Supremacy, nor therefore of State either, from which that Supremacy is inseperable, if a Derivation of the Ministerial Powers must be from her; which implies, according to *Erastus* himself, the exercise of them, and who therefore asserted,

That

That Christian Magistrates might exercise the Ministerial Function if they had leasure; for then the Salique Law is grounded on the Scripture, and Saint *Paul*, by not suffering a Woman to Teach, has excluded the whole Sex from Civil Government also.

As I readily grant to the Author, that Christianity was never design'd for the Subverting ours or any other honest Civil Constitution; so he must grant to me back again, That our Constitution neither is, or ever was intended to Subvert Christianity; and that our Legislators never intended to Establish any thing in Relation to Religion, but what is agreeable to the Reveal'd Will of their Saviour; or to subject so the Laws of Christ to theirs, as to encourage Men to argue as this Prefacer does inversly back from the Constitution to the Gospel, and say, This is our Law, therefore 'tis Gospel; but contrarywise, this is Gospel, therefore otherwise is not our Law; which whatever it may seem doubtfully to speak, ought to receive such Constructions as are Consonant to the Laws of Christ to which it is submitted, and the Doctrine of the Catholick Church; and that it always was, since the Nation has been Christian, and is the Sense of our Legislators and of the People of *England*, That if any thing is Establish'd not agreeable to the Constitutions of Christ, that so far they will, and account it as it really is, *ipso facto*, null and void; and that both Prince, Parliament, and People, do will and consent, and 'tis their real desire and intention, That if Christ in his Gospel has

has given any Divine Powers and Priviledges whatſoever immediately from himſelf to the Chriſtian Miniſtry, that no Laws of theirs ſhou'd vacate amongſt them his Will and Donation, and be uſed in Plea as their Intention againſt ſuch Inſtitutions. Whoever pretends, that either they who made the Laws, or the People of *England* that obey thoſe Laws, mean otherwiſe, groſly Reproaches his Country and its Government; and therefore the Author's whole form of Argumentation againſt the Divine Right of the Clergy from the Laws, is prepoſterous, and drawn the wrong way, contrary to the true meaning of the Conſtitution and its Conſtitutors, who never meant to have the Scripture ſtoop to be judged by their Laws, but the ſenſe of their Laws to be judged and conſtrued, and to ſtand and fall by the Scriptures; for there's a wide difference between thoſe two ways of expounding our Laws, The one grounds the Scripture, as it were, upon the Law; The other, the Law, as it ought to be, upon the Scripture: He that proves by Scripture, That the Clergy have a Divine Right to any Power whatever, well proves at the ſame time, that in true ſenſe and meaning, no Statutes Eſtabliſhing Religion in *England* intend otherwiſe.

The Proofs made uſe of by the Author, to ſhow that by the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, all the Powers of the Clergy are derived from the Civil, are a Collection of Facts, Acts, ſcraps of Acts of Parliament, and of our Kings, and their Donations, being moſt of them

them trite, and having been frequently inſtanc'd, and undergone the ſeverity of Examinations often before. The whole evidence may be reduc'd to theſe two ſorts:

Firſt, Such as precedes the Reformation.

Secondly, Such as concerns the Reformation it ſelf, what has been done at or ſince it.

Firſt, For his evidence againſt the Clergy, that he has pick'd up before the Reformation.

Thoſe that have been well verſt in our Old Laws, and Hiſtorians, have, amongſt their other diſcoveries, met here and there from Age to Age with paſſages, arguing the Conſtitutional Right of our Princes Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, againſt the Papal Uſurpation; theſe Paſſages the Aſſertor has laid violent hands on, and wou'd fain carry to farther purpoſes than either the Original Authors or Recorders of the Facts dreamt of, or any of their obſervers hitherto have either urged them for, or thought them applicable to, and wou'd force them to ſpeak, not only againſt all Independent Church Power Foreign without the Church and Nation, which is their true ground and utmoſt intent, but alſo within its ſelf, to rob Chriſtianity and its Miniſtry of their eſſential Rights; which notwithſtanding they are ſo far from effectually proving, that were there no better Proofs than them, they had in my Thoughts, e'en better be let alone than produc'd, even for the Eccleſiaſtical Rights of our Princes againſt the Pope.

For

For to what purpoſe is it to have recourſe to Preſident, or pretend to contend that way, where there is Ten to One againſt a Man, and he provokes to that, that he dare not be concluded by; for what ſignifies it to pick up here and there a few ſtragling uncertain Preſidents, which the Circumſtances of the Times uſually account for, rather than the nature of Things, when the whole ſtream of Story runs on the other ſide? For ſo, when all is done and ſaid, it muſt be own'd the caſe ſtands with Relation to Church Power and Supremacy for Generations through the Popiſh times before the Reformation. Where there is one Act done by this or that King or his Parliament, that ſeems to aſcribe Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy to our Princes or Legiſlator, many more multiplyed more fully, aſcribe it to the Pope under even the ſtouteſt Aſſerters of it; for which I refer him to the diſputes between the Papiſts, and ſuch of ours as have conteſted with 'em, the Right of our Princes Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, by that Legal and Conſtitutional way, in which it muſt be confeſt, that the Popiſh Pens have much the advantage, and have never come off with that Succeſs as in the diſputes upon that unequal ground; which as we are to blame too much to inſiſt upon, ſo they are no where glader to joyn iſſue with us, and to keep us, if poſſible, to that way of deciſion; beſides the living conſent and acknowledgment not only of the majority, but in a manner of the whole Nation to the latter, nor can it be otherwiſe. For who wou'd go look for Proteſtant Eſtabliſhments amongſt

amongst Rank profest Papists? Or hope from Popish Houses of Commons any Acts, but what were like themselves? Nor is this any greater disadvantage to the Title of our Princes, that Papists did not confirm it, or reproach to the Laws, than 'tis to the People, that their Ancestors were once Papists when Popery was the Religion, and the Popes Supremacy the chief Article of that Religion. How can it be thought, however groundless the Papal Doctrine of Supremacy was, but whilst the Nation lay under this erroneous Conviction of the Truth, and necessity of it to Eternal Salvation, and so profest, not from force but perswasion, but they acted accordingly, and neither made new Laws, nor assented to such old ones, Statute or Customary, that were inconsistent with their present Profession? Or who can but think at least, that when our Princes were fallen out with the Popes, and had Parliaments they cou'd influence, but that then however they shou'd speak out plain, and make a full claim of all their lawful Ecclesiastical Powers whatever? which yet they never did so far as to quit themselves from him, and much less to make all Church Power dependent on them.

What the Common and Statute Laws of the Nation were before the Papal Supremacy prevail'd, does so little appear, and that little so uncertain, that if there were no better Arguments against the Pope's title to Ecclesiastical Supremacy, than what the old Laws and practice of the Nation furnish, our Princes Supremacy wou'd be but poorly supported,

ported, and the Pope wou'd have the better of it; for whatever Original Laws or Statutes there had been before the Papal prevailency, were no better than Abrogate, by the Nations contrary practice and profeſſion for ſeveral Generations ſucceſſively, by the indroduction of contrary Laws, both Cuſtomary, Statute, and Canon; and to rake ſome obſolete rubbiſh out of the Monuments of our old *Britiſh* and *Saxon* fore-fathers, to build our Princes Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy upon, is as good a Proteſtant Argument for it, as it wou'd be a Popiſh one againſt Her Majeſty's Title at preſent, to urge, together with the Abrogate Laws of Queen *Mary*, the old Popiſh Canons and Decretals, which top all our Laws, and were no leſs ſacredly conſented to in Popiſh times, than his Rule, *de Majoribus omnes*, was in the more Barbarous Age beyond them. As none can doubt, ſince our Nation is Proteſtant, but our Laws that are made, are ſo to; but whilſt it continu'd Popiſh, its Acts were generally no better than its Principles. The Pope's Title had ſo long paſt for currant, the Regal Supremacy had been ſo long oppreſt, and buried rather than preſerv'd by the Laws, that it was grown too late to retrieve it barely that way, and the National Legal Conſtitution was not to be depended upon, to prove where Eccleſiaſtical Jurisdiction was ſeated; and is firſt a needleſs, ſecondly, an uneaſy and inſufficient way to truſt to make our Princes Title good.

Firſt,

First, There's no necessity for it, and the Point does not want it. Ecclesiastical Supremacy, both as to Legislation and Jurisdiction, is so many better ways made appear to belong to our Princes within their Dominions, superior to any thing that can be produc'd from what Popish Kings and Parliaments did, or the Laws of darker times, suitable to the Nature of the Subject, by Reason, by Nature, by Divine Institution, by fixing the Period of Papal Usurpation, commencing by its own Lame and far-fetch'd Pretences, that the thing is fully done, without recourse to Historical Facts, or positive Instances of the Nation's contrary Constitution, which, where they are favourable, are very proper to corroborate; but to make them the sole Evidence, is running a Risque to no purpose; for whatever our old Laws say, tho' they were all on his side, yet still the Pope cou'd have no such Title as he pretends, upon the Foot he does pretend it, *&c.*

Secondly, 'Tis an unsafe and insufficient way of making our Prince's Title good and clear, nothing cou'd, if need were, be prov'd that way throughly; all that is shown is by Instances of bare Facts, that such and such things were indeed sometimes done, whence nothing, *de Jure*, follows, either that they were rightly done, or that what was done was right, and shou'd have been done.

They prove only in part, and are at most but Limitations and Restraints in certain Cases, and upon certain Occasions of the Papal Juris-

Juriſdiction pruning rather its Luxurancies than deſtroying the Stock, or declaring it wholly lodg'd either in our Kings or Parliaments. What if Three or Four of our Kings, (taking no notice of the acknowledgments of others, or the ſubmiſſions of thoſe very Perſons at other times) when fallen out with the Pope, did Actions importing Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction lodg'd in them; or if the inſufferable inſolences of *Rome* provok'd the Nation's Patience, beyond their Principle, to put a ſtop to its extravagancies in a Parliamentaryway, in caſes where it had notoriouſly exceeded all bounds, by ſuch Acts as thoſe of *Clarendon præmoneri Circumſpecte agatis, &c.* This is ſo far from arguing all Eccleſiaſtical Jurisdiction to be lodg'd in our Legiſlatures, or that they thought ſo, that it confirms the contrary, ſince nothing but the extremity of wrong and inconvenience, in Caſes where Civil Rights and Liberties lay at ſtake, for Conſiderations no way Eccleſiaſtical cou'd move in heat and indignation the Legiſlature to declare the Pope's Eccleſiaſtical Authority not utterly null, but to prevent its growing boundleſs only; for the Limitation of a Power is an implicite acknowledgment, and a tacite Confirmation of it in ſome certain degree; and denying it in particular Caſes, is owning it to be juſt in the reſt. And the Univerſities therefore giving their Judgments to *Henry* the Eighth about the Right of Supremacy, warily and wiſely did it, not abſolutely, but with reſtraint to the Scriptures and the Word

of God, by which the Pope had no Juriſdiction in this Kingdom, which is a kind of tacite Inſinuation of ſome legal Hold that he had got, which they cou'd not tell what to ſay to. And Queen *Elizabeth*, when ſhe ſet forth the Nature of her Supremacy, and her Right in her Injunctions, no leſs warily makes any legal Challenge beyond her Father and Brother, contenting her ſelf with a general Declaration for what was farther back, That it had indeed of ancient Time belonged to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. And ſhe was much in the right on't, notwithſtanding all that her famous Attorney-General had reported. That is all that can be done, to make a continued Chain of legal Demonſtration, ſo as by a Perpetuity of Inſtances, ſucceſſively carry'd through the Reigns of all our Popiſh Kings, to ſhow that the Conſtitution was ſtill the ſame, and our Kings and Legiſlature always ſo acted, as ſhow'd they were never diſpoſſeſt of Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, or thought themſelves ſo; for beſides that, it is a ſtrange and incredible Paradox, being the ſame as to ſay, That the Nation was not only throughly Popiſh when it was ſo, but never Popiſh at all; for the Article of the Pope's Supremacy is the very Eſſence of the Religion, which whoſoever denies, is leſs a Papiſt or Roman Catholick, tho' he agree with the Church of *Rome* in all other things, than he that holds in that, and differs from her in every thing elſe; and the Pope's proffering Queen *Elizabeth* to confirm our whole Reformation and

Church

Church Eſtabliſhment, upon condition that ſhe would diſclaim her Title to Supremacy, and allow his, ſhows as much. Beſides this, I ſay, that conſtitutional way of Evidence is a ſlippery Topick to rely wholly upon, becauſe the Pope's Advocates do find Act to ſet againſt Act, Cuſtom againſt Cuſtom, King againſt King, ſo far as to puzzle the Cauſe, and ſtagger the Conſtitution; for tho' the Crown had never formally quitted, or directly given up its Rights of Eccleſiaſtical Government, yet ſo far as Practice and Preſcription cou'd go to make the Alienation, both Prince, Parliament, and People, by ſubmitting to the Papal Impoſition, by believing and conſenting to the *Jus* of it, had done their beſt to make it away, and the Trade had held on ſo long, that tho' the Uſurpation was palpable, that it cou'd not be ſaid that the Law and Conſtitution were againſt it, but that they had been ſo, only the Body of the Conſtitution being ſo chang'd that thoſe now and then Acts, which were favourable to the Regal Supremacy, were rather Foot-ſteps and Remains of a ſuppreſt and loſt Right, ſtruggling and making Efforts to riſe again againſt the Pope keeping it down, than the Nature and unforc'd Habit of the Conſtitution being but like the laſt Palpitations and Subſults of a dying Creature, under the Hands of one that has prevailed againſt and is bleeding of it to Death. And the Phraſe Reſtoring of it to the Crown, made choice of upon the Reformation, as it imports it to have been an original Right of

the Crown, so it no less implies that it had been so far lost, and in a state of Alienation, that without Re-investiture it cou'd not be recover'd, and as the Law then stood, cou'd not be exercised by the Crown, till vested in it again by new Laws; which Laws were indeed declarative of it as an ancient Right, but not declarative only or bare Recognitions, but constitutive also, as the Words Annexing, Restoring and Re-uniting do show; which as they imply it to be no Gift or Conveyance from the Parliament to the Crown, so they do imply a fresh and new Accession and Renovation of Legal Title.

And if the Laws and Constitution of the Nation, or Acts of our Kings and Legislature before the Reformation, do not barr the Pope's Spiritual Authority, but in more Instances rather confirm'd it; then much less can they be supposed to derive all Spiritual Power whatsoever from them.

The Exemption of their Religious Foundations by our Kings from subordinate Episcopal Jurisdiction, is urged by the Author likewise as an Argument of Episcopal and All Clerical Authority flowing from the Crown; and a very good Argument it wou'd be, were these Two Things first well prov'd:

First, That it was really so done.

Secondly, That it was rightly done.

But *First*, I believe it almost as hard to prove, that our Popish Kings by vertue of their own Authority, or Right inherent in them by the Common Laws of the Land, indow'd Churches or Monasteries, with Privileges

leges and Exemptions from Biſhops, as to prove 'em good Proteſtants, whatever Priviledges and Exemptions of that kind were granted by our Kings, being unqueſtionably by the Pope's Licenſe and Commiſſion immediately or mediately, expreſly or tacitly, particularly or generally, as a Grant at large to our Crown; for Popes, when they have been in good Humour, have given to Crowns for ever, ſometimes to particular Princes, as perſonal Favours, for their Lives, to have Epiſcopal Inveſtiture and Juriſdictions dependent on them, and in certain Caſes to exerciſe Supream Eccleſiaſtical Authority, but ſtill to have their Tenure from him.

It was in *England*, whilſt Popiſh, to be ſure, as it was, and ſtill is, in other Kingdoms abroad that are ſo, where no Prince has any Right, unleſs by Delegation and Conceſſion.

If our Kings had claim'd any ſuch Right by any Laws, or done any ſuch thing, we muſt have heard more on't; the Pope's Bulls, that uſe to bellow upon much ſlighter Occaſions, wou'd not have been ſilent, nor wou'd he have ſuffer'd Laws and Practices ſo contrary to his Pretences to have paſt, without ſome extraordinary note of his diſpleaſure.

Beſides, the Papiſt will eaſily triumph over all the Inſtances of ſuch Exemptions, with a far greater Number of contrary ones, ſhowing moſt of our Kings, even thoſe from whom the Examples of ſuch Exemptions are fetch'd, ſuing at the Pope's Gate for the Confirmation of Exemptions and Priviledges to their Religious Foundations, which if they

had thought their Right by the Law of their Kingdom, and by vertue of their Crown, wou'd have sav'd themselves the trouble, and no more have made application to *Rome* at one than at another time, but the Pope's Grant was either still had, or presum'd to be had; for such Foundations being thought in those Days the chief and highest acts of Religion and Piety, the Pope's Ratification of what Privileges were desir'd to works of that kind, was not unusally presum'd upon; amongst which Privileges, Exemption from inferior Episcopal Jurisdiction, Metropolitical as well as Diocesan, was reckon'd the chief and most considerable; which was the more easily allow'd, and more incourag'd on the Pope's side, as it confirm'd that Episcopal inequality he was introducing, and strengthned his Tyranny over other Bishops, by lessening their Juridical Matter, and bringing their otherwise mediate Dependencies immediatly under himself. The Pope's Concurrence was so well known to go to any Ecclesiastical Grants of Privileges, that the having of it, is often left out as needless by Authors, where 'tis certain it was had; and Exemptions from inferior Bishops, as they were by Power from the Pope, were with Reservation still to himself.

Besides, all Orders of Religions being Licensed, and having their Institution confirm'd from the Pope, tho' we suppose that our Kings, by right of their Crown and Laws, might and did, both build, endow, and grant Exemption from Episcopal Jurisdiction to their

their Monasteries, yet still had no sort of Monkish Cattle to stock them withal; and the Pope, tho' he cou'd not vacate the Donation, cou'd yet, by dissolving the very Order, frustrate the Design, and make such an exempting Power insignificant.

Secondly, Allowing our Kings in their own right to have exempted from Episcopal Jurisdiction, and granted Episcopal Privileges also, yet still it does not follow that it was well done of 'em, and that they did not exceed their Commission; for it was not for want either of Ignorance or Superstition in those Days, if they kept themselves within the Bounds of their Province.

If Exceptions and Limitations of the Pope's Power for preventing Inconveniencies and Incroachments upon Civil Rights, and determining how far it shou'd extend, and upon what Conditions be exercis'd and admitted, and Men wou'd obey it, argu'd a Superiority, the Pope wou'd have no Supremacy at all any where; for this has been done by the Legislature of every other Kingdom and State as much as ours, and is to this Day, yet neither does the Pope himself think such Proceedings inconsistent with his Supremacy, nor are those that do those things, any ways apprehensive that the Pope's Supremacy is affected by it, which they at the same time acknowledge and strenuously assert; and there was certainly a very great mistake on both Sides in this Matter, if our Popish Princes exercis'd, or had by the Laws of the Kingdom all Spiritual Authority

lodg'd Supreamly in them, for neither themſelves knew they had any ſuch thing, nor the People for them, nor did the Pope think he wanted it.

And the Author's Inſtances beyond the Reformation, are ſo far from proving all Religious Power and Authority lodg'd in the chief Magiſtrate, and deriv'd from him as its Fountain, by the Laws and Conſtitution, that thoſe Laws, and that Conſtitution, left in the Pope that juſt Right of Supremacy, that we willingly acknowledge to be his, the Magiſtrates due, and wou'd have done ſo ſtill, had not the Statutes of the Reformation come in to his Aſſiſtance, and put Eccleſiaſtical Power again into its right, tho' long forſaken Channel; for if by the Laws and Conſtitutions all Church-power had belong'd to our Princes, and been accordingly exerciſed before, the old Form of Conſtitution, according to him, ſtill continues and goes on, and there was no need of Reforming Acts; Reformation is an impertinent Word, and the Statutes of the Reformation, inſtead of adding, as they pretend, to the Crown Eccleſiaſtical Power, will be found to have much diminiſh'd it.

To which Statutes and Conſtitutions let us now paſs, and to what the Author argues from the preſent Reformed Eſtabliſhment of the *Church of England*, againſt all proper Powers and Rights in the Clergy from Chriſt. The firſt and great Article upon which the Reformation turn'd, 'tis well known, was the Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy; from

from the Acts vesting which Supremacy in the Crown, the Author wou'd infer the derivation of all Church Power whatever from the Crown immediately, and mediately from the Parliament, and the nullity of all Independent Power in the Ministry; against which his Inferences I offer the following Considerations, concerning the nature and extent of the Ecclesiastical Supremacy vested in the Crown by those Acts, and to be Exercised under the present Constitution.

First, The Acts themselves that Vest the Ecclesiastical Supremacy in the Crown, call it Restoring, Annexing, and Uniting it as an Ancient Right.

From the force of which words entitling their Acts, supposing them used with Propriety, the Legislature direct us, and let us into thus much of their Sence and Judgment about the Supremacy; and 'tis imply'd in the Terms:

First, That the Supremacy, as design'd by them, was no new thing then first introduced, but an Old Original Right of the Crown (the ancient Jurisdiction.)

Secondly, That by Interruption and Usurpation of many Ages it had been lost, otherwise it cou'd not be Restor'd, United, Annext.

Thirdly, That they look'd upon it to be no Power of theirs, or deriv'd to the Crown from them, but the Crowns Native Right, not convey'd from themselves, for then must they have been the Usurpers of it; but from the Pope, who had Usurp'd it to the Crown, its Right owner, they acting as a Third Party interposing to relieve the injur'd

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and oppreſt, and ſeeing that their Sovereign ſhou'd have what God had made his due, making the Pope quit his hold of what he had either Weadled or Extorted from the Crown, delivering it to the Crown again.

Fourthly, That it was no extraordinary or ſingular Power any way peculiar to our Crown, or depending on the particular Laws or Frame of our Government; but the common and ordinary Right of all Supreme Magiſtrates of what Nation ſoever, and therefore not depending on Humane Law, but on Natural Reaſon and Divine Inſtitution; this appears as well by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Injunction to explain this Right now recover'd, as by the Thirty Seventh Article alſo of our Church, in both which 'tis declared in words to the ſame effect, That it was that only Prerogative which we ſee to have been given to all good Princes in Holy Scripture by God himſelf, that is, That they ſhou'd Rule all Eſtates and Degrees committed to their Charge, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal.

Fifthly, That it was not an abſolute Univerſal Power, but limited both as to matter and manner, not deſigned to comprehend in it all Eccleſiaſtical and Religious Authority, either as to Exerciſe or Habit; but a certain kind of a Power only, and in certain Reſpects, as is plain by Queen *Elizabeth*'s aforeſaid Injunction, who muſt be allow'd to underſtand pretty well the Nature of her own Right; ſhe declares her whole Supremacy to be this, under God, to have the Sovereignty

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and Rule over all manner of Persons Ecclesiastical, not Things Ecclesiastical, observe, to which agrees the Thirty Seventh Article, *To Rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their Charges*, aiming at an outward coactive Power, and the Power to execute the Ministerial Offices, is particularly declared, not to be intended to be brought in by vertue of the Supremacy, both the Injunction and the Article being design'd to take off the Offence given both to Papist and Protestant by the Regal Supremacy, being mis-represented to be that very boundless Grant and Ascription to our Kings of Church Power, which the Author contends for, and to clear it from it and Queen *Elizabeth*'s saying in her Admonition to explain the Supremacy, and prevent sinister Interpretations which was confirm'd afterwards by Act of Parliament, That *she neither did, nor ever won'd Challenge any Authority, other than what was Challeng'd, and laetly used*, &c Sufficiently testifies, That there was some other Church Authority which neither had been Challeng'd or Used by her, her Father or Brother, which both the Church and Nation thought it a great Slander and Scandal, to have the Establishment Charged with either giving to her, or She with accepting of. And almost all the Acts of Parliament that annex the Supremacy to the Crown, as well in King *Henry*'s, King *Edward*'s, as Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, seem particularly cautious and upon Guard in this matter, to give us to understand, that notwithstanding any general Expressions of All Jurisdiction,

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All Authority, ſo much, and ſo far, was only meant by the word All, as to be a reſtrictive All, All that was preſidented as to Exerciſe by the Law of the Land, All that was agreeable to God's Word and to the Practice of the Church, as appears by the remarkable Proviſo in the famous Act of the 25*th* of *Henry* the VIII*th*'s, as follows; *Provided always this Act, nor any thing therein contain'd, ſhall be hereafter interpreted, that your Grace, your Nobles, and Subjects, intend by the ſame to decline and vary from the Congregation of Chriſt's Church in any thing declar'd by the Scriptures and the Word of God, neceſſary concerning the very Articles of the Catholick Faith of Chriſtendom, or any other things declar'd by the Scriptures neceſſary for your and their Salvation; but only to make an Ordinance by Polities neceſſary and convenient to repreſs Vice, for good conſervation of the Realm, in Peace, Unity, and Tranquility, from Rapine and Spoil, inſuing much the Old Ancient Cuſtoms of this Realm on that behalf, not minding to ſeek for any Relief, Succours, or Remedies for any Worldly Things, and Humane Laws in caſe of neceſſity; but within this Realm, at the hands of your Highneſs, which ought to have Imperial Power and Authority in the ſame, and not oblig'd in any Worldly Cauſes to any Superior.* By which Proviſo 'tis obſerv'd, If any thing were in the Law affecting any Spiritual Power of the Clergy, 'tis retracted whilſt enacted, and the words, *An Ordinance by Polities*, &c: *and not minding to ſeek Relief for any worldly Things, but within this Realm*, &c. *and not being oblig'd in worldly Cauſes to a Superior*, ſufficiently bound the

the Acts deſign. And in the Act of the firſt of *Elizabeth*, where the extent and quality of the Regal Jurisdiction, by vertue of the Supremacy, is very fully ſet out, 'tis reſtrain'd to (ſuch) Jurisdiction, (ſuch) Priveledges, Preheminencies Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical, as by any Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Power hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be exerciſed or uſed for the viſitation of Eccleſiaſtical State and Perſons, and for Reformation of all manner of Errors, Hereſies, Schiſmes, *&c.* ſhall for ever be united and annext to the Imperial Crown of this Realm ; for whatever flouriſh the Author makes about this Act, if we compare things together, as we ſhall find nothing in it, but what by fair Conſtruction is aſſented to by all the Proteſtant World, ſo there is no reaſon to take it in a Sence diſſonant from all, and declared by the Queen her ſelf and the Church, to be Slanderous. *Firſt*, We find the Title Head retracted as Offenſive, and chang'd into that of Governor, as being too expreſſive, and too much ſeeming, together with Acts of outward Regimen, to imply an inward Communication and Derivation of Eſſential Powers to the Church. *Secondly*, To Reform Errors, Hereſies, and Schiſmes, is, by the Doctrine of all Proteſtants at leaſt, allow'd to belong to Princes, as alſo for the Queen to Judge and Determine by her ſelf, or Commiſſioners deligate, what is ſo ; taking in this Proviſo, That it be only ſo far as Scripture has determined any thing to be ſo. The Four Firſt General Councels declared, by expreſs words from Canonical Scripture,

Scripture, or the Parliament, with the previous assent of the Clergy in their Convocation, Judg'd and Enacted, which comes hardly to more than is the allow'd Right of every Private Protestant; and the Queen's Admonition relating to this Act, sufficiently acquits it from all intention of her having by it either such Authority over the Ministerial Offices, as to convey the Powers they are performed by, or of Exercising those Offices her self.

But we need not go beyond the Title of the Act it self, which is this, *An Act for Restoring to the Crown the Ancient Jurisdiction of the State Spiritual and Ecclesiastical*; which Title, as is before observ'd, acquaints us, That the Parliament neither adds or gives any thing to the Crown, but what had been before lost; and consequently takes nothing from any, but what had been lost, and from those who had unjustly got and detain'd it; Now who was this that had Usurpt any part of the Crowns Jurisdiction? Why the Pope only, and Extinguishing the Papal Usurpation was the utmost, not only of this, but of all other Acts concerning the Supremacy; and as the Parliament meant to give to the Crown all the Pope had Usurp'd, and therefore besides the Enumeration of particulars, use sometimes large and comprehensive words, so they meant no more, but that whatever lawful Power the Pope had unlawfully got, that is, in wrong to others, exercis'd in this Kingdom, that is the true measure of all the Power our Legislature has by all their Acts confirm'd

confirm'd and pronounc'd to be lodged in the Crown.

The Project of the Oath of Supremacy, first contrived and imposed by *Henry* the VIIIth, on some few particular Persons, and afterwards inlarged to abundance of others by Queen *Elizabeth*, one would think, shou'd take in the whole claim of Supremacy, which yet is no more, we find, then a barr to Foreign Papal Jurisdiction, and an assent to our Princes lawfully and rightfully having what had been so; so that they who framed the Oath, suppose all was contain'd in that. The Thirty Seventh Article resolves the whole Supremacy into a Non-subjection of our Princes to Foreign Jurisdiction, and giving to them what Foreign Powers had got. The Queen's Injunction declares all that is meant by the Supremacy, to be no more, Than that no Foreign Power shou'd, or ought to have any Superiority over her Subjects; but that she ought to Rule all manner of Persons of all Estates: And the Renunciation of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction required in the Oath by the word Forreign, is either in it self impertinent, and opposed to nothing, or if not so, then is either an implicit positive Constitution of some Domestick Spiritual Power not Renounc'd, or at least an acknowledgement of it, and an exeption an reservation of it by the Legislature in the state it had before stood.

All the Acts about the Supremacy being Restorations and Resumptions of lost Right to the Crown, the Clergy can be no farther affected with them, than they were chargeable

chargeable with any of the Uſurpations, and thoſe Rights were found upon them; but it does not appear that the Legiſlature Charg'd the Clergy in any part, farther than with miſtaking their Governor, and paying the acknowledgments of Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy to the wrong hand; nor were farther culpable than an adherence common to them, with a great many conſiderable Lay Perſons to the Papal Title, made them indirectly acceſſary to the upholding his, not their own Uſurpations, being themſelves ſo far from Uſurpers, (I mean the Secular that is true Clergy) or enjoyning beyond their own, that they had not only their equal ſhare of Suffering with the Laity, but the Pope's Yoke lay heavier on them than any body elſe, by how much more ſtrictly and directly they were under him. *Matthew Paris* therefore, and others of our Old Hiſtorians, are full of accounts of the miſerable Eſtate of both the Prelacy and lower Clergy in their days, How they were ſqueez'd with Exactions, Prey'd upon by greedy Popes, and their greedier Officers; Eat out, as with Vermin, by Monks and Fryars, put to great Charge and Trouble in getting from *Rome* the Inſtruments of Confirmation and Inveſtiture, the Biſhops ſhortned in their Jurisdiction, Honours, Priviledges, as well as Incomes, by Oaths of Fealty and Homage, and dayly increaſing Exemptions from them; many of the beſt Preferments given by the Pope to Strangers, or kept in his own Hands, beſides being bound up to the hardſhip of involuntary Celibacy, which

which with a great deal more, whoever conſiders, muſt find 'tis a very wrong Notion Men are poſſeſt with, That the National Clergy's Uſurpations was amongſt the Cauſes of our Reformation, or that the ſhort'ning them in any of their Powers or Privileges, was any of its Ends, but by accident the deliverance from the Pope being greater, with reſpect to them, than the reſt of the Nation; and it muſt be confeſt, that if at the Diſſolution of the Popiſh Tyranny, his ſeveral Uſurpations had been re-diſtributed to thoſe who were the Loſers, that the Clergy wou'd have come in for their Share, to the increaſe of both their Wealth and Power; and that it is not ſo, they may thank the Folly and the Obſtinacy of that ſorry Generation of Pope-rid Prieſts at that time, who, inſtead of accepting Deliverance, and joining in helping forward the good Work of the Nation's, and their own Redemption, intangled and ſold their Rights and Livelihoods of themſelves and their innocent Succeſſors. And tho' the Papiſts have no reaſon to twit the Clergy of the *Church of England* with the loſs of Temporal Advantages (as their Writers have ſometimes done) or being reduc'd into a much poorer Condition than they were before the Reformation, for they are, God be thank'd, however, in much eaſier worldly Circumſtances than their Popiſh Predeceſſors; the chief of their Loſſes being but Continuations of ſuch Alienations as either had been made in Popiſh Times, by Appropriations, *&c.*

or flow'd from Popiſh Examples. Yet the Author ought not to be angry, if conſidering the Circumſtances, the Acts of *Henry* the Eighth, by which they are concluded, were made, ſome of the Clergy have expreſt their Reſentment of it as a Hardſhip upon the Order, and ſignified their deſire of having themſelves referr'd to a ſecond fairer Hearing; and it ſeems at leaſt hard, if it be not ſo, That Laws made when they were not *recti incuria*, but in unfair Circumſtances, and the Order look'd on as Adverſaries to the Government, and lay under its Diſpleaſure, ſhould be kept on againſt it, when 'tis become otherwiſe; that their ſhould be the ſame Law to the Clean as was to the Unclean, and that Laws made with reſpect to the perſonal Demerit and Temper of Popiſh Prieſts of one Age, ſhou'd ſtand againſt the Proteſtant Miniſtry of all Generations, that have no relation to thoſe Practices that were then deſign'd to be obviated; nor can there be a fairer Provocation, than Appealing and humbly recommending themſelves to the Conſideration of the Legiſlature of their Country and their own Religion, by whoſe Proteſtant Determinations they wou'd with more ſatisfaction ſtand or fall, as to their Rights and Privileges, whether they ſhall appear more or leſs, if they think fit to call over their Caſe again by a Review of the Acts then made. Oppreſſors uſe not to complain to the oppreſſed, the doing of which, as it ſhows a hearty Confidence, both in their Cauſe

Cauſe and their Country, on the Clergy's ſide, ſo the oppoſing it ſhows no leſs Diffidence in both, in the Author and thoſe of his Leaven, who, if they thought the Clergy had, inſtead of leſs, more than their own, cou'd not wiſh for a more effectual way to redreſs the Grievance, than the Legiſlature's calling over their Circumſtances by a Review of the Laws deſir'd.

But as 'tis plain, as I have ſaid, that the Clergy were great Sufferers, in their legal Rights, by the Pope; ſo 'tis certain, that at the Diſſolution of his Tyranny, thoſe Rights wou'd have return'd to them of courſe, even without formal Acts of Reſtoration, had not the unhappy and perverſe Temper of the then Popiſh Clergy, provok'd the Legiſlature, who foreſaw it, to prevent and intercept that return, of which they ſaw them unworthy, and for which unfit, by diverting them, returning rather to the Crown, by transferring to it in general Words, without Exemption, whatever the Pope had had by Acts firſt in *Henry* the Eighth's time, veſting in the Crown, not only all Papal Juriſdiction, which the Crown had been robb'd of, but all other Spiritual Power whatever, which in wrong either to Clergy or Laity the Pope had Uſurp'd, or had been exercis'd under him; which, as it ſhows that the Crown by the Reformation has got more Church-power than ever it had before, ſo it ſhows that Gain to be the Loſs of ſome who have not re-got all that they had loſt. The Grant of Supremacy

thus once largely and comprehenſively made, was in the ſame fulneſs and largeneſs of extent continu'd on, firſt to *Edward* the Sixth, whoſe Government emprov'd that Latitude and Indefiniteneſs of Expreſſion, in the Statutes of *Henry* the Eigthth, to thoſe heights of Interpretation, as by vertue thereof to do thoſe things which the Legiſlature by their Example have incourag'd us to draw a Veil over, by (inſtead of imitating) letting the Law lye dead that chiefly declared thoſe Rights of the Supremacy.

Then to Queen *Elizabeth* (the firſt of *Elizabeth*) to whom all the Powers and Privileges that had been granted to her Father and Brother, and all the Branches, Sentences, and Words of the ſeveral Acts, are declared to extend to her, as fully and largely as ever the ſame Acts did extend to *Henry* the Eighth; which preventive Clauſes are what are chiefly offer'd in plea againſt the Clergy's Claim, to have reſtor'd to them any legal parts of their Right, which in injury to them the Pope had took upon him.

But ſtill ſuppoſing the Pope's whole Power juſt or unjuſt in its ſelf, that he had not only exerciſed in *England*, in injury as well to the Crown as all other Perſons whatſoever, but whatever Power he has any way elſe pretended to, to be transferr'd upon our Crown and lodg'd in it, with the utmoſt Dependencies of the Clergy upon him, yet all ſtill will fall ſhort of what the Author wou'd have, and leave an independent Power in the Clergy; for the higheſt Aſſertors of the Papal

pal Power pretend no more than this, That Biſhops, as to external Regimen, are ſubordinate to the Pope, and have their Juriſdictions deriv'd from, and dependent on him; but yet, that the inward Eſſential Powers and Characters of their Order, with thoſe of the Prieſthood, are from Chriſt, not through him; each Biſhop for inſtance, conferring Orders, and conveying from Chriſt the Rights and Powers of the Prieſthood, not by any vertue deriv'd to him, from him to the Pope, but independently on the Pope, and immediately from Chriſt, as if the Ordination had been made by the Pope himſelf, of which the Pope never pretended himſelf the Original Source, or ſole Fountain; nor is it the Popiſh Doctrine, That Chriſt firſt ordain'd St. *Peter*, and he the Eleven; which it muſt be, if the Powers of the Prieſthood were dependently deduced from the Pope; but the Apoſtles were all made Prieſts by Chriſt together, and ſo equally Fountains of Ordination.

Why was the Submiſſion of the Clergy ſo much inſiſted upon at firſt? Or why neceſſary at all, but to cut off ſome Claim of Juriſdiction and Right, which the Legiſlature ſaw wou'd not look well in them to do without their conſent, and without which the King perceiv'd he cou'd not ſo fairly or ſecurely accept what the Parliament was tranſferring upon him by the Clergy's ſubmiſſion; I mean not only their owning the King's Supremacy againſt the Pope's, but their ſubmitting themſelves, with all their Acts,

Rights, and Powers, in their Convocational Capacity, to a Dependence on the Crown, and binding themselves, in *verba Sacerdotum*, and their Successors, never more to claim Jurisdiction independent on the Crown? Why was this so urg'd, but to barr against some known and believ'd legal Rights which they had? Something was given up by this Act of theirs, without which the Crown's Title cou'd not be clear against them; or why was this, their Submission, made the Foundation upon which that Act was built (the 25th of *Henry* the Eighth) that was design'd to create and establish the Crown's Title to such the Clergies Dependence, but that that Act of the Clergy was necessary, and the fairest legal part of it; in consequence meerly of which, the Parliament granted to the King, some part of that Spiritual Authority in the Act specified; so that what legal Right the Crown has by that Statute to all the Clergies Jurisdiction, is it self grounded on the validity of this Act of the Clergy, to bind their Successors, which is its Fundamental.

I leave to others to show by what unfair Arts of Force and Fear, that Act was involuntarily extorted from the Clergy, the unlawfulness of the thing it self, the Nullity of such an Alienation, to oblige Posterity, *&c.* I find indeed, that the Expostulations of Wrong that have been, or can be made upon that Subject, are so far from making Impressions towards things being otherwise than they are, that they are rather turn'd to the

the Clergy's Disadvantage, by those that wait for their halting, who pervert those Attempts to be the ground of reproach, as proceeding from the Clergy's Ambition, and love of worldly Power, and arguing them more intent upon their proper Rights, Jurisdictions, and Government, than the Church's Edification, and the other Work they have to do. And after I have took leave to say, That 'tis rigorous to hold the Clergy to that, their Act of Submission will rather turn my Thoughts on the other side, and since 'tis likely to be no better, and the Clergy must sit down with what they have left, think of being content, rather than contend; and it ought in some measure to lighten the sense of the hardship, to consider that it is no new Grievance put upon them, to make them so dependent, as that their Act of Submission has done, but a Continuance only of them in the same Case they were before; for they were as much dependent on the Pope before, as the Laws have made them on the Crown, from that their involuntary Consent; and since their Predecessors cou'd contentedly, without thinking it Oppression, have their Rights and Jurisdictons dependent on the Pope, they have the more reason to sit equally easie under their lawful Supreams exercising the same Authority over them, only let it not be extended beyond what was intended, either by the Clergy themselves granting, by the King receiving, or the Parliament constituting upon't, that is, to the Clergy, only consider'd in their Con-

vocational Capacity, and no otherwise; so as not to pretend, by vertue of any legal Right, Law or Custom of the Land, to assemble in Convocation, but by vertue of the King's Writ or Power only; or make any Canons, Constitutions or Ordinances, that shou'd necessarily and civilly bind the Subjects, as before, in their Goods and Possessions, unless confirm'd and ratified by the Regal Power; which, as it is no more than the Pope before had yielded to him by vertue of his Supremacy, so it draws but the same Inconvenience on the Church, supposing the Supream no Christian or a Heretick, that it does upon the State, after which 'tis modelled, supposing the King a Tyrant, that the Parliament cannot meet without being first summon'd, or pass their Acts into Laws, without the Royal Assent.

Nor do I see how it destroys the Divine Right of Synods, or any other Right necessary for the Preservation of the Church and Christian Religion, which it no more affects, than the Legislature's interposing in any other part of Religion, and declaring and determining the Modes and Terms of acceptance of Divine Ordinances destroys or alters the Divine Right of those Ordinances, since it only limits the Application of that Right, with respect to its exercise, in this Nation, and sets out the Conditions upon which the Clergy of this Church, in Conjunction with this State, shall be deem'd legally to Assemble and have the Civil Sanction added to their Determinations; which Conditions not observ'd,

serv'd, their Evangelick Right may nevertheless be still good to meet and act, necessity so requiring, tho' without or against the Prince's Order, if he be no Christian, or an Heretick; but the Civil Obligation will not attend what they do, acting them as in case of Separation from the State, and their Acts being as the Acts of the Church, and their Assemblies before *Constantine*, who had a Right to meet and consult for the Church's Common Wellfare, tho' there was no Law for it, or even against the Law; and the Councils of the Apostles, which were of right, tho' not legal, and their Acts good and binding, tho' not civilly so to the *Roman* Empire.

The Argument of Danger and Inconvenience to the Church, by this the Clergy's Convocational Dependence on the Supream, is easily also retorted by the Civil Government; for it must be confest, there is much the same danger to the Civil Magistracy, from an Independent Legislature, in an intemperate or ill-disposed Convocation, that is to the Church, from an Heretical and Wicked Magistracy; And where shou'd such a Power be more conveniently lodg'd for both, than in the Common Head of both? And 'tis for the Clergy's Honour however, that the Crown holds that Right of Dependence of their Convocational Jurisdiction upon it which it has by Acts, grounding the Tenure upon Grant and Concession from themselves.

Now that this the Clergy's ab-renunciation of Independent Jurisdiction, was in regard only to their Convocational Capacity, so far

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as aforeſaid, appears as well by the cautionary Promiſe given by the King, before the Clergy wou'd yield: *That he wou'd never by vertue of their Acknowledgment, aſſume to himſelf more than belong'd to his Predeceſſors. That he wou'd not do any thing in Spirituals, in altering, ordering or judging, what was Hereſy,* &c. *without their concurrence.* Which Condition was not ſo well obſerv'd as it ought to have been, and was intended by the Parliament ſhou'd have been, or they wou'd not have declar'd as they did in the Act, by which the Clergy's dependance on the Crown upon their acknowledgment, is ſettled, That no farther declination or varying from Chriſt's Church is by the Act deſign'd, in Spirituals or other Tranſlation of Power from the Clergy, than what was neceſſary to free the King from any Obligation to Superior in worldly Cauſes. In King *Edward*'s Reign (1ſt of *Edward* the Sixth) we find the Conſequences of this dependence of the Convocations Juriſdiction on the Crown ſtretch'd, to take in the whole Power of the Miniſtry, and make all the Spiritual Actions of the Epiſcopal and Prieſtly Office, in all their parts, Derivations from the Crown; and ſome irregular Steps 'tis too true were unhappily made upon it, which our Popiſh Adverſaries have took care ſhall never be forgot, and the *Eraſtians* have no leſs weary'd themſelves with cultivating; yet if the difficulty of the times, the Ferment of Spirit, puſhing Men on with more Zeal than Caution, and making them with deſire of the End, forget the Means; If the Reformation ſtruggling

ſtruggling now for Birth and Life, carried thoſe concern'd for it beyond their Tropick, in the part where they moſt labour'd; and if they expreſt themſelves leſs cautiouſly in a point they were not then ſo well aware of the fatal Conſequences of, a thing that has happen'd more than once to the beſt and greateſt Men, in Articles of the laſt Importance; If, I ſay, this will not account for the fore-mention'd Expreſſions and Actions of the Government in King *Edward*'s time, whether really or ſeemingly only, deducting all Spiritual Powers from the Magiſtrate, which in part I think it ought at leaſt to do; for Two or Three warm Acts of our Reformers in thoſe times of ferment, ought no more to be dwelt upon for the Reformation's ſettled Senſe and Temper, than one extravagant Word or two ſpoke, or a haſty Act done by a Man in his Paſſion, or in the exaltation of a Feaver, ought to paſs for his Judgment againſt all the contrary Cooler Declarations, and Conſtant Practice of his Life afterwards.

And if this ſatisfy not yet, Queen *Elizabeth* claiming as ample a Supremacy as her Brother King *Edward* had, and yet diſclaiming the Power of exerciſing the Miniſterial Functions, and remarkably, when ſhe revived the Acts Queen *Mary* had Repeal'd, letting the particular Statute of the Firſt of *Edward* the VIth, that chiefly, and above others, ſeem'd to explain the Supremacy ſo, as to argue the whole dependence and derivation of Church Power from the Crown, and make her the Original Fountain of all Spiritualities,

tualities lie in its recall'd State, neither then nor since reviv'd, shows, that that Statute disapprov'd, and spoke not well the Reformation's now cooler Sence and Temper, and that the Legislature then, as since they have continu'd, leave the Constitution the same as before that Statute was made, and, as if it never had been made, *viz.* Bishops to their former Divine Right and Institution, and the Powers of the Priesthood to their immediate dependence on Christ by Ordination and Succession.

This was so notorious an instance of the Nation's now reform'd Principle and Disposition, that the Papists, who cou'd not but take notice of it, saw their mistake, and grew convinc'd, leaving off upon it in great measure, their old imputation of Parliamentary Bishops, and Parliamentary Religion, *&c.*

And 'tis observable to this purpose, the great *Cook* himself (*Cook Rep.* lib. 5.) demonstrating our Prince's legal Title to Ecclesiastical Supremacy and Jurisdiction, by Examples thro' the Reigns of all our Kings, passes over King *Edward*'s Reign when he comes at it, tho' no other Statutes so expresly, fully, and particularly set forth in all its Branches, and display the Supremacy; yet that wary and judicious Lawyer, thought not fit to alledge any one of the Statutes of that Reign, as carrying it beyond the Constitutional degree of all his other both Ancient and Modern Evidence.

Tho' our Reformation was happy in its Regularity, beyond those of the rest of *Christendom*, and as little Tumultuary as so great

great a Change cou'd without Miracle be hoped to be; yet its own Repeals and Alterations ſhow, That all its firſt Conſtitutional Acts, ought not to be drawn into preſident.

Times of heat and hurry, are not proper to make the Rule, and fix the Judgment of Conſtitutional Diſpoſition from; ſo much duſt and ſmoak was then rais'd, as was enough, not only to hinder thoſe involv'd in it from diſcerning ſo clearly, as when the Air was grown more Calm and Serene, but to make their Acts largely taſte of the Tumultuary Paſſions then moſt in Agitation, and none more then thoſe relating to the Clergy; for if we conſider that their unhappy temper was the great Obſtacle of the Reformation, that their Obſtinacy and Ignorance had made them ſo Ridiculous and Odious, that Royal Injunctions were fain to be Iſſued out, as they were, to ſecure 'em from Publick Inſults; we may well make allowances, for even the Publick Acts of that time being tinctured with the effluviums of Humane Frailty, and proceeding from Spirits ſharpned with juſt Provocation. What looks moſt like *Eraſtian* in the turn of the Reformation, not ſpeaking ſo much the ſence of the Government from the nature of the thing, as from the neceſſity of the Times, and the preſent untoward Temper of the Popiſh Clergy, which was ſuch not only here, but in the other Reforming Churches abroad, that 'tis no wonder, conſidering Humane Infirmity, that ſome from Wiſhing proceeded to Hearkning to ſo ſeaſonable a Project as that

of

of getting a Ministry of another sort, by a new way, and of a different Origen, the little *Erastianism* having to produce, which looks any where in its favour, being what distrest Christians, in Confusion thro' the utmost Necessity, have, to avoid greater evil, took up withal.

The Private judgment of A.B. *Cranmer*, *&c.* in favour of *Erastianism* from the *Cottonian* Manuscript, is not of it self, tho' never so true, nor any other private Judgments, of that Importance, to carry the Determination of the Sense of the Statutes of the Reformation along with it, or turn the Publick Establishments, or our Thoughts of them, the contrary way to that which they otherwise look and bend, and the unhappy Secret had better have preserv'd its value by sleeping in its Learned Dormitory amongst its fellow Rarities, than have been depretiated by an unwelcome discovery, obliging to none but *Papists* and *Erastians*; and had its otherwise Great and Learned Evulgators, but thought of *Cham*, they wou'd not by an incontinent, tho' not ill-meant Publication, have given a Suspicion doubly of his Temper and Guilt, to those that less know or esteem them, by instead of hiding, uncovering the Nakedness of both their Father and their Mother the Church, lessening the Character of that Reverend Martyr, by showing (if it be true) that he had indeed his easy Hours, and confirming that vilest part of Popish Slander upon him, that he wou'd say or unsay any thing. I am sure if there be any Truth in his last acknowledgments

knowledgments upon his Tryal, he muſt be very contrary to himſelf, if ever he gave ſuch an Opinion; and it may not be amiſs to Tranſcribe the Paſſages to that purpoſe from *Fox*, becauſe they happen ſo directly and particularly to Anſwer every Queſtion that need be put to him were he alive, to ſatisfy, That he neither died nor lived an *Eraſtian*. Firſt, Page 1704, in that, tho' not falſe, yet unfairly repreſented talk between him and Dr. *Martin*, as follows:

Mart. *You deny'd that the Pope's Holineſs was Supreme Head of the Church?*

Cran. I did ſo.

Mart. *Who ſay you then is Supreme Head?*

Cran. Chriſt.

Mart. *But whom hath Chriſt left here in Earth his Vicar and Head of his Church?*

Cran. No Body, *viz.* of the Univerſal Church.

Mart. *Why told you not King* Henry *this when you made him Supreme Head? And now no Body is.*

Cran. I mean not but every King in his Realm and Dominion is Supreme Head; and ſo was he Supreme Head of the Church of Chriſt in *England*.

Mart. *Is this always true, and was it ever ſo in Chriſt's Church?*

Cran. It was ſo.

Mart. *Then what ſay you of* Nero? *He was the Mightieſt Prince of the Earth after Chriſt was Aſcended, Was he Head of Chriſt's Church?*

Cran. He was *Peter*'s Head.

Mart.

Mart. *I ask whither* Nero *was Head of the Church or no? If he were not, 'tis false what you said before, That all Princes be, and ever were, Heads of the Church within their Realms.*

Cran. Nay, it is true; for *Nero* was Head of the Church in Worldly respect of the Temporal Bodies of Men, of whom the Church consists.

Thus far we see A. B. *Cranmer*'s Sence and Notion of the Supreme Magistrates Religious Power, expreſt withal those proper and just regards of Distinctions and Limitation which are necessary, That it was such a Supremacy which depended not on the Prince's Religion, belonging to *Nero* or the *Great Turk*, as well as to a *Constantine*; that it was not an inward but an outward Co-active Power, only restrain'd to Worldly respect and the Temporal Bodies of Men. And Page 1707, Dr. *Martin* ask'd him, *Who was Supreme Head of the Church of* England? Marry, *quoth my Lord of Canterbury*, Christ is Head of this Member, as he is Head of the whole Body of the Universal Church. Why, *quoth Dr.* Martin, *You made King* Henry *VIIIth Supreme Head of the Church!* Yea, *saith the Arch-Bishop*, of all the People of *England*, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal. *And not of the Church*, said Martin? No, *said he*; For Christ is only Head of the Church, and of the Faith, and Religion of the same; the King is Head and Governour of his People, which are the visible Church. *What*, quoth Martin, *You never durst tell the King so?* Yes, that I durst, *quoth he*, and did, in the Publication of his Stile, wherein

wherein he was Nam'd, *Supreme Head of the Church.* There was never other thing meant.

As this laſt, and almoſt dying Declaration of A. B. *Cranmer*'s Senſe of the Supremacy, ought to ſtand as his Solid and Fix'd Judgment, againſt all other pretended contrary Opinions whatſoever; ſo his (who had ſo much reaſon to know) ſo poſitively declaring with his almoſt dying Breath, That no more was meant by the Title Head than what he here ſays, is a notable Key to let us into the true nature of the Regal Supremacy; and his ſaying he had told the King as much, is a Circumſtance that makes his ever having given a a contrary Opinion, almoſt incredible.

Laſtly, The appointment of the Form of Ordination and Rites of Conſecration of the Miniſtry, the Local Determination of exerciſing their Functions, by dividing the Nation into Dioceſe, Pariſhes, *&c.* are Marſhall'd up by the Prefacer, as Arguments for the Derivation of all Church Power from the Civil Government.

Firſt, For the State's appointing Forms of Ordination, *&c.* which he calls, making Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and Presbyters, that no more proves the Spiritual Powers of thoſe ſo order'd deriv'd from that Appointment, than the owning of an Authority and Commiſſion is giving of it; being but a Declaration of the State's acceptance of the Orders.

The Caſe, in my Mind, is no more than this, Chriſt has Commanded all Chriſtians to beware of falſe Prophets, that ſhou'd come with

Counterfeit Divine Commissions, which as it implies there are true Prophets, or a set of Persons that really have such Divine Commissions, so it gives each particular Christian right to judge and distinguish which are the false, which are the true, a thing of the last Consequence; now the King and People of *England* met in a Parliament, to consult about their common Salvation in pursuance of this Command, seeing there are Persons Divinely Commission'd by Christ, call 'em Prophets, Priests or Ministers, thro' whose hands the Administrations of his Religion were to pass, knowing these Persons had always receiv'd these Commissions from Bishops, Successively by imposition of hands perform'd in some seemly wise, finding the World abounding with Counterfeits, and much Superstition and needless Rites added to the necessary Communication of this Power, continuing therefore the derivation of it in that old Episcopal Chanel it had always run in, that the People of *England* might not be impos'd upon by false pretenders to Christ's Commission, declare for themselves, That Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, order'd in such manner as they set forth, are rightly and lawfully Christ's Officers; and tho' others order'd by different Forms and Rites may be also true Bishops and Priests, yet for their part they will be oblig'd to look on none, as entitled to Christ's Commission, but those who can produce the Notes Establish'd, and Evidences settled by them, however true Ministers they may otherwise be; and that those that have those evidences of their

Authority

Authority they oblige themselves to own as Christ's true Missionaries, and accordingly entitle them to all those Temporal Rights and Advantages, as according to God's Law is by the Law of the Land annex'd to their Callings, and arm them with all that Authority which is necessary for the discharge of their Functions, and which God, who never gives any Office but he gives also sufficient Power and Authority also with it for its Execution, by necessary Consequence, though not particularly expresst, must be supposed to have given them; But what derivation of Powers from the State to the Priesthood is there in all this? For a Nation to declare, that they believe in Conscience that Persons so and so ordain'd are Christ's lawful Ministers, and have his Commission, and not only declare it, but oblige themselves to stand to the truth of it, and venture their Salvation upon it; 'tis so far from testifying them such Creatures as the Author wou'd make 'em, that 'tis the best Demonstration a Nation cou'd give, that they think them otherwise. For what Reason is this we believe Persons so ordain'd Christ's lawful Ministers? We will receive his Sacraments from no other Hand, hear his Word Preach'd from no other Mouth, but that of one this way Ordain'd, which we believe the true and sure way of coming to the Ministerial Authority, *Ergo*, he that comes by that way is our Creature.

The State's Prescribing and Establishing Forms of Ordination, is a Publick Attestation of the Ministry so ordain'd being *Jure*

Divino, having the Nation's Publick stamp Authoritively put upon 'em, to assure their being Genuine, and to signify their Approbation, and being receiv'd as such.

This indeed is a Consequence of the Civil Power's setting forth Forms of Consecrating and Ordaining Arch-bishops, Bishops, and Priests, that the People of *England* solemnly declare it agreeable to God's Word, and the Practice of Christ's Church, that there shou'd be such orders and distinction of Ministry, as Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in the Church, and having consented that those who are Consecrated and Ordain'd according to the Forms prescrib'd, are fairly and duly ordain'd to these Degrees, and bound themselves by their Act and Deed, to look on 'em, and accept 'em as such, Ministers according to Christ's Institution. 'Tis contradicting their own Act again, either to deny those Orders to be of Divine Institution, or the Method the Clergy come to them by, to be a true Method; and those who prefer their Private Judgments before the united Sense of those, whom in their Name they Authoriz'd to make the Choice, and think they can rightlier distinguish who are true Christian Pastors, and which the way of becoming so, have left themselves no Legal Right of such Second Choice, but by showing themselves not concluded by their Representatives in that respect, which they cannot do but by impeaching (as we shall find this Author does) the Legislature as having exceeded their Commission, and acted where they had no right to be their Representatives, and if the

the Legislature's Act be void, then yet together with the Civil Power's Right of prescribing Forms, the Author's Argument must also fall for the Clergy's Power being derived from that Prescription.

The Argument from the local Determination of the exercise of the Ministerial Powers, by the Civil Power's dividing the Kingdom into Provinces and Dioceses, and sub-dividing those into Parishes and lesser Districts, and Constituting, Dissolving, or Uniting any of these, has the same force, to show the dependence of the Ministry's Authority on the Civil, as that before from the Forms of Ordination.

Power and a License to exercise that Power, as to the where, how, and when, are very distinct things; Officers may have their Stations assign'd, and be oblig'd to Act and do Duty by those on whom their Commission have no dependence; and the least the Civil Magistrate can be allow'd to do by vertue of his Supremacy, by those that own it, is to Marshal and Dispose Church Officers, to mark out proper Stations for 'em, and Circumscribe 'em within certain Limits, and within them, see they do their Duties.

By the Doctrine of the *Church of England* by Law Establish'd, as appears from the Forms of Ordination, there is a double Call or Mission necessary to the Ministry, a Call wholly Divine, and another mixt, partly Divine and partly Humane, or in other words, there is an outward and an inward Call.

The Church's Doctrine of the necessity of the inward Call, appears by this first Question, proposed by the Bishop in the Office for ordering Deacons.

Do you trust that you are inwardly mov'd by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this Office and Administration?

The outward call consists of two parts, one relating to the Power, the other to the legal exercise of that Power, which we have in the next Question Proposed.

Do you think that you are truly called according to the Will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the due order of this Realm, to the Ministry of the Church? Which outward Call, manifestly consists of Two distinct parts necessary to compleat it: *First*, An assent to the way by which the Power it self is Communicated, That it is according to the Will of our Lord Jesus Christ; and *Secondly* That the Person be Conscious that he is qualified according to the Order of this Realm.

What is meant by each of these, we have more fully and particularly declared in the Preface in these Words, *Which Offices* (viz. *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*) *were evermore had in such Reverend Estimation, that no Man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called; that is as it follows, Tryed, Examined, and found to have such Qualities as are requisite for the same*, There is what is meant by the Call according to the Order of this Realm, viz. *Having all the necessary qualifications Legally required; and also by Publick Prayer and Imposition of Hands were approv'd and admitted thereunto*

thereunto by Lawful Authority, There is the Call according to Christ's Will; the one of these is the Donation and Conveyance of the Ministerial Power it self; the other is the Local Limitation of the exercise of that Power to this Realm, from the State's License and Allowance of that Power upon Conditions: The former we may call the Commission, the other the Permission only; and tho' both these are so conjoin'd in time, and perform'd together, that they are become, and look like only one Act, yet they are really two; The Bishop acting in a double Capacity, in the name of Christ as he gives the Ministerial Power, and Commission in the name of the State, by whom he is intrusted to enquire into certain qualifications, without which the Nation have agreed, That however Men otherwise might be Commission'd, yet they shall not act as Ministers amongst them. As for the latter of these, the Bishop's Power is indeed wholly derived from the Civil, who, as they have thought it proper to depute the Bishop, may as well depute any other Person to take care for them, and see that those the Bishops Ordains, answer their requisite Characters and Qualifications, such, as being so Old, taking the Oaths of Supremacy, and some other things that the State having since thought necessary, are therefore, after they are Ordained required before they can be National Pastors, such as Reading and declaring their Assent and Consent to the Book of *Common Prayer*, subscribing to the Thirty Nine Articles, *&c.*

That the State's share in Ordination, and what depends upon them in it, is not the Conveyance of the Ministerial Power it self, but a Permission to exercise their Functions, and a Local Appropriation; appears,

First, Because the *Church of England* does not hold any Doctrine of Equivocal Ordination, nor allows of more ways or doors than one of being admitted to the Pastoral Office, and therefore owning other Churches both Protestant and Papist, to have a true and lawful Ministry, which Ministry at the same time 'tis known, are neither order'd by any Form as with us prescribed by the Civil Power, nor put under any Limitation, so much as to the exercise of the Function by that Power, does acknowledge the Ministry, neither deriv'd from, nor dependent on the State; and therefore in the Preface to our Forms, 'tis not said absolutely, That no Man is or shall be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon; but only, *That no Man shall be accounted one in the Church of* England, *or suffer'd to Execute his Office, except*, &c.

Secondly, The ordinary Call of the Ministry is, and always was, a general and indefinite Calling; that is, the Ministerial Commission does not in it self necessarily include in it any Local Determination for its exercise, is not any Call Appropriate to this or that, either Nation, Dioceſs, Parish, Persons, or Place; but is a free undetermined, and irrespective Commission at large.

The Original Commission of the Apostles, was to Teach, Preach to, and Baptize all Nations:

tions: Our Ordination runs, *Take thou Authority to preach the Word of God, and to miniſter the Holy Sacraments in the Congregation*, without local Limitation to any, The Determination of its Exerciſe, being an after addition, a Circumſtance annext, ſeperable and ſeparate from the Power it ſelf, as much as a Faculty granted, is diſtinct from a Condition afterwards put to it: *That it ſhall not be uſed within ſuch Bounds, and in ſuch a Place, but upon ſuch Conditions.*

Nor is there the neceſſary Correlation between the Epiſcopal Power and a particular Dioceſs, as the Author thinks, that the Abſence of the latter ſhou'd deſtroy the former, which it only reduces to its firſt Simplicity, to be as it comes from Chriſt, irreſpective in its Nature as to Place, or Indefinite and Univerſal, its local Confinement being extrinſecal and accidental, ſuch a relate of a Biſhop's Authority, not being a Dioceſs, but the whole World, or Catholick Church; to charge which Notion with Abſurdity, is charging the Original Conſtitution of Chriſtianity it ſelf, and its Conſtitutors, with it.

Indeed I ſee no neceſſity of ſuch ſtrict relation at all, between Epiſcopal Authority and any Dioceſs or Charge whatſoever, as its ſubject Matter, that they needs muſt co-exiſt together, and not the one without the other; a Power may exiſt, tho' it never once exert it ſelf, nor meet with a Subject to exerciſe it ſelf upon; and an Habit or Faculty is not preſently eſſentially loſt, becauſe it wants

wants whereupon to act; a future Being of a relate Charge, is Title sufficient for its relative Power actually at present to subsist by; and tho' a Bishop have no Title to any Charge any where at present, yet a future Prospect, Probability, nay, Possibility, if they were necessary Correlates, were enough to preserve his Episcopal Power and Character from ceasing; much less need it cease, by his being excluded by the Laws of his Country, to exercise for the present his Authority, in some one of those particular local Sections, by Dissolution or Union of it to some other, where before he had imploy'd it.

If a Bishop's Episcopal Power depended on his Dioceſs, then his Power wou'd be proportion'd to his Dioceſs, according to the extent of which his Authority must be contracted or inlarg'd, and the greater Dioceſs, the greater Bishop; but 'tis not so, for the Bishop of a small Dioceſs, and fewer Parishes, is as much a Bishop, and has equal intrinsical Power to him that has the largest; and consequently he that has no Dioceſs at all, may have as much Episcopal Authority, as he that presides over one of the greatest Amplitude. Bishops cou'd never be equal, if their Authority Episcopal depended upon the Administration or Substraction of the subject Matter of their Jurisdictions.

God is often the immediate Author of the Power, where Men furnish and supply the particular Materials for it to employ it self upon; God is the Author of the Marital Power and Matrimonial Obligation, yet a Man

Man himſelf, or his Parents for him, by chuſing his Wife, furniſh the particular Matter of theſe divinely inſtituted Powers. A Biſhop may be a Biſhop, and eſſentially retain the Power of exteriour Juriſdiction, tho' he is for the preſent incapable of executing of it, for want of proper Matter, which they that give or take away, do not along with it either give or take away his Epiſcopal Authority.

In the Novatian Hereſy, abundance of Dioceſſes were double Biſhop'd, and it was decreed by the Church, *That upon the return of any Biſhop from that Error, they ſhou'd retain their Epiſcopal Honour and Character ſtill, tho' without Sees, if the Dioceſs where they were were already full.* The ſame was done in the Councel of *Nice*, to the *Cathari*, (*Nice Can.* 8.) Several Ancient Canons allow both Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, that by fear or force had been compell'd and ſubmitted to offer, or ſeem'd to conſent to Idolatrous Sacrifice, to retain, if penitent, their ſeveral Characters, tho' never to exerciſe their Offices more. And the 94th *Can.* of the Councel of *Antioch*, is, *de Epiſcopis vacantibus*, or Biſhops without Sees, againſt their violently ſeizing on vacant Biſhopricks; a Practice it ſhou'd ſeem at that time not unuſual.

So that the fixing of Eccleſiaſtical Diſtricts, and the Stationary Aſſignation of Officers to them, is not of the Subſtance, nor enters the Eſſence of Ordination, nor affects the Nature of the Miniſterial Commiſſions, to make them either

either more or leſs Divine or Independent, if it do belong to the Civil Supreme, as, for my part, I believe it may.

And ſince my Thoughts have led me to ſay ſo, they ſhall draw me in farther, to offer in their Vindication ſome Conſiderations concerning the Right of Aſſigning the Miniſterial Spheres, whoſe it is, to found, diſſolve, unite, contract them, *&c.* which I ſhall do under theſe Three Heads of Inquiry.

Firſt, Whether a local Determination of Eccleſiaſtical Diſtricts, and Appropriation of Perſons to them, be neceſſary?

Secondly, If neceſſary, by whom to be made?

Thirdly, Concerning their Forms and Site, How far they are diſcretional, and ſubject to their Makers and Determinators?

And *Firſt*, It muſt be reſolv'd, that local Determinations of Eccleſiaſtical Diſtricts and Spheres are neceſſary, I mean in and for the Church; ſo that in a Chriſtian Country they muſt and ought to be made, and being made, cannot be thrown up again, being neceſſary.

Firſt, For the Order and Beauty of a Church, which the Deſcription and proper Digeſtion of Perſons limited to their Poſts creates, and to prevent the Confuſions which from the indiſcrete and promiſcuous Exerciſe of Miniſterial Offices muſt ariſe, neceſſary for the Succeſs of the Miniſtry, which not a little depends upon the Accomodation of Perſons to the Circumſtances and Genius of Places and People.

Secondly,

Secondly, A Deſcription of Miniſterial Spheres, and Limitation of Miniſters to them, is neceſſary *Jure Divino*, I mean not as to Precept, but as to Pattern and Preſident, and *Jure Apoſtolico* as to both; for Chriſt himſelf, the Author and Founder of our Religion, the great High-prieſt and Biſhop of our Souls, who in the Execution of his Office, deſign'd himſelf in all things imitable, a Pattern to his Officers, limited himſelf in the perſonal Execution of his Miniſterial Office and Commiſſion, *Matt.* 15. 24. to the Land and People of the *Jews*, like the Sun he choſe a Center for himſelf, round which only to move, and from thence to communicate to the World vertually, by Twelve Rays, his Apoſtles, his Light.

His Apoſtles Commiſſions (as thoſe of all their Succeſſors, and the Miniſtry ſince are) were abſolute; for tho' St. *Paul* and St. *Peter* had Limitations divinely added, the one to be Miniſter of the Circumciſion, the other of the Uncircumciſion, yet as thoſe Limitations were rather perſonal than local, St. *Peter*'s, together with *Judea*, taking in the whole *Jewiſh* Diaſpora, and St. *Paul* the *Gentiles*, tho' in *Judea* it ſelf; ſo they were not ſuch Deſignations as were excluſive of any Places or Perſons, but only made the *Jews* the Subjects of the one, and the *Gentiles* of the other's greater Care and Application. So that the Apoſtles were all truly Univerſal Biſhops, having each the World for his Dioceſs, furniſh'd with all the plenitude of Church Power; nor cou'd their

their Juriſdictons receive any other Reſtrictions but what, by the Conduct of the ſame Spirit which gave them immediately their Commiſſions, they gave themſelves, which is certain in ſome ſhort time they did do. Their Governing the whole Church amongſt them in common laſting no longer probably than Believers having all things elſe ſo; for after they had, according to Divine Order, beginning at *Jeruſalem*, form'd it and its Adjacencies in common into a Church, as a Model of their ſeveral future Conſtitutions, when ſeparated, 'tis certain they agreed to Limitations of their Offices in their Progreſſes to Bounds, iſſuing like ſo many Lines from their Center, into the ſeveral Quarters of the World, or ſending Evangeliſts and inſpir'd Men, that were to be the firſt Planters and Propagators of the Goſpel; for the better Proſecution of this Divine Project, 'tis neceſſary to ſuppoſe they did not run Hand over Head any whither, or they knew not whither themſelves; but without croſſing and interfering with each other, took each his diſtinct Root and Courſe of Evangelization, concluding themſelves within Circuits, that were to be the proper Care of each's Apoſtolick Prefecture, and within which, unleſs in *Tranſitu*, for Confirmation, or Subſidiarily ſent extraordinarily, they contain'd themſelves, limiting their otherwiſe unlimited Commiſſions, by the Natural or rather Political Diſtinctions of Mankind by Nations and Communities. St. *Paul* plainly alludes to this in 2 *Cor.* 10. 13, 14, 15,

15, 16. *But we will not boast of things without our measure, but according to the measure of the rule which God hath distributed unto us, a measure to reach even unto you.*

For we stretch not our selves beyond our measure, as tho' we reached not unto you; for we are come as far as to you also, in preaching the Gospel of Christ.

Not boasting of things without our measure, that is, of other mens labours; but having hope when your faith is increased, that we shall be inlarged by you according to our rule abundantly.

To preach the Gospel in the Regions beyond you, and not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand.

Where all these Words, Measure, Rule, Line or Canon, point at some more settled Boundaries of Ecclesiastical Care than that of Præ-occupation.

And as the Apostles and Evangelists made undoubted Partitions into Circuits to which they confined themselves, and which were True and Original Patriarchates, if not the Original of Patriarchates; so they limited those to whom under them they communicated so much of their Apostolick Power in parts, by Ordination and Imposition of Hands, as was ordinarily to continue for the Government and Use of the Church, to certain local Bounds, whether Bishops or Presbyters. Thus St. *Paul*, to whose Constitutions to be sure those of the rest where conform'd, appointed *Titus* Bishop in *Crete*, *Timothy* of *Ephesus* to bide there still, or injoining

joining him Residence, 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. ordain'd not Elders or Presbyters to act at large but in every City or Church, that is for each's particular Use and Service; nay, he ascribes the Stationary Assignation of the *Ephesine* Presbyters to the Holy Ghost, *Acts* 20. 18.

And as they gave Directions to the Bishops they ordain'd, to ordain other Bishops and Presbyters, so it cannot be doubted but they in like manner tied 'em to their respective Charges, and circumscrib'd 'em within Bounds which they were not to exceed.

And since Christ therefore himself, in himself, set the Pattern of being limited in the Exercise of the Ministry, since the Apostles in their extraordinary Commissions from Christ, tho' unlimited, yet evidently bounded their several Districts, since they fix'd Episcopal and Presbyteral Spheres for those they ordain'd; and these again trod in their Master's Steps, and since 'tis unnecessary to say, that the Primitive Church (of which there is abundant Testimony) strictly observ'd the Methods of Christ, his Apostles, and their immediate Successors, and pursued the same Scheme in Polity, confining the Powers of Ordination indefinitely convey'd, to exercise themselves within certain appointed Bounds, nor suffering the Ministry, like Popish Monks and Jesuits, to be a vagabond, gadding and undetermin'd Race, wandering and preaching up and down *ad libitum*, since the Determination of Ministers to certain Posts, within which to do the Duties of their Function, implies an answerable Limitation

tation of the Places or Poſts themſelves, we may conclude that fixing Eccleſiaſtical Diſtricts, or the diviſion of a Chriſtian Country into Provinces, Dioceſes, and Pariſhes, is *Jure Divino*, as to Preſident; *Apoſtolico*, as to Preſident and Precept, purſuant to, and deſcending from Primitive practice.

Dioceſes and Pariſhes are words much older than *Conſtantine*, as the Titles Primate, Metropolitan, and others, implying the determination of Eccleſiaſtical Diſtricts alſo are, and the ancient Canons, ſuch as the 14 and 15 of thoſe called the Apoſtles, againſt Biſhops going out of their Dioceſes, and Clergy from their proper Churches and Charges, the 15 and 16 of the Councel of *Nice* to the ſame effect; thoſe concerning the Order of Dioceſes, and the Priviledge of certain Sees, as the 6th of *Nice* and the 2d of *Conſtantinople*, as in *Dioniſius*'s Code, the 6th of *Chalcedon* againſt abſolute Ordination without ſpecial Title, *&c.* are abundant Teſtimonies in the Centuries ſucceeding thoſe called the Primitive, as of the Church's ſenſe of the neceſſity of Miniſters being tied each to a particular Charge; ſo of Local diſtinction and repartition of Diſtricts anſwerably.

The Second enquiry is (Eccleſiaſtical Diſtricts and Appropriations of Church Officers being neceſſary) whoſe Right it is to ſettle them, and aſſign their proper Officers to each, concerning which I have already ſpoke my mind, That the Modifying and local Formation of Churches by a diſcipation and diviſion of Countries, into variety of Spheres,

Episcopal and Presbyteral, or Dioceses and Parishes, with the Right of affixing the particular Officers to act in each, must depend on the supreme Magistrate.

For tho' 'tis true, that the Church for near Three Hundred years together after the Apostles, did, together with several other now allowed Rights of the supreme Exercise, both those within her self, and this not by Usurpation, or in Injury to Princes, yet it was only by a kind of Lapse of Power; because and whilst Princes did forego their own Right, and refusing what was necessary for the Church to be done, left it to her self to do it by her own Officers, even as in our Constitution, the neglect of filling up an Ecclesiastical vacancy, throws the Right upon others; for in things necessary to be done, there must be a second resort upon default in the prime Agent, whilst Princes persecuting Christianity exterminated the Church Officers, instead of making the necessary dispositions, and convenient assignment for the exercise and execution of their Divine Commissions according to the Apostolick Pattern, they might, nay, they must determine for themselves such different spheres of Action, as were most convenient, whilst God's Vicegerent, to whom they were primarily referr'd for it, wilfully and obstinately neglected and refus'd to do it, and make both personal and local distributions in their conversions in all Countries which by vertue of their indefinite Commissions lay open to them, and in which they had from Christ an undivided Right of Spi-

Spiritual Authority; but then when Princes coming into the Intereſts of the Goſpel, ſhowed themſelves both willing and capable to diſcharge all the parts of their Religious Truſt, we find the Right of determining Eccleſiaſtical Diſtricts within their Dominions, returning as of courſe to 'em, without ſcruple, form, or noiſe, and ſo have been exerciſed accordingly, firſt by *Conſtantine*, whoſe Life was chiefly taken up with this Work, and abounds with his Building Churches, and conſequently making Pariſhes, endowing and affixing Revenues to them, till then generally precarious and uncertain, which may well be called an Eſſential of Eccleſiaſtical diſcrimination of Diſtricts, perfecting the particular diſtinction and ſubordination of Churches, which till that time lay rather as in Plan, and cou'd not be compleat, even in the moſt Chriſtianiz'd parts of the *Roman* Empire, wherein many great Nations were yet unconverted, and few ſo generally ſo, as to have all the Diviſions Epiſcopal and Presbyteral which was neceſſary when wholly come in, having Biſhops uſually and Prieſts under them in Common, without farther diſtinctions; and however great the number of Biſhops at the Councel of *Nice* was, yet probably there was not ſo many Pariſhes in the Empire at that time, as aftewards appear'd neceſſary to have Biſhopricks, nor ſo many Biſhopricks as after thorow Converſion Metropolitan Sees, which moſt of the ancient Sees became, as the too forward aſpiring of ſome of the firſt converted and larger *Parochiæ* to Epiſcopal Pri-

viledges, and not changing perhaps presently their Names as their Church Officer did his Order, Title, and the nature of his Inspection, may in some measure account for the *Parochiæ Episcopus* of those times (if *Parochiæ* be what we now call so) the prevention of which irregularity, seems to have occasion'd the old Canons of *Laodicea* and *Nice*, forbidding a Bishop to be Constituted in Castle, Village, Town or place, less than a City, lest, what they foresaw might happen, a Confusion of the Orders Presbyteral and Episcopal might ensue, upon the too near approach of the Districts to be like each other, unless the *Parochiæ* means not one, but the whole set of Congregations dependent on a City, denoting the whole χώρος or *Ager*, as it properly does; and then the *Parochiæ Episcopus* is but in other words the *Chorepiscopus*, or Rural Suffragan Bishop, for that it was more than one Parish, the Canons of *Ancyra* mentioning the *Villæ* subject to a *Parochia*, Can. 34. and talking of persuading them, and demigrations from them, sufficiently shows.

And as that great advancer of the Church's and the Clergy's Interest *Constantine*, exercised the Right of Assigning the Ministerial Spheres, so other Emperors and Princes after him did in like manner within their Dominions the same, till by the Pope's Usurpation they lost again their Right, who not contented to take from them their Right of shaping out their Territories to the Church's Polity, by making Ecclesiastical descriptions, turn'd

turn'd the point so far upon them, as to become the Universal Surveyor, determining for them their Governments; and instead of their Founding Bishopricks, *&c.* appointing Kingdoms, Principalities and Dukedoms, with the Right of Investiture in himself, pretending to be the Founder even of that Empire, the forged Donation of whose once Possessor, is the best Title he can show to his Secular Jurisdiction in *Rome* it self. It seeming Just to God that the Civil Power, which for Centuries together had refus'd to assign proper Spheres of Action to his Ministry, when tenders of Christianity were made by his Officers consequently demanding it, shou'd for so many more multiplied be punished in the part they had offended in.

The Jewish Kings where not acting by vertue of any extraordinary Commission or positive Command of God, what they did, they did by vertue of their Regal Character and Ecclesiastical Supremacy belonging to it, and what they Lawfully and Laudably did in the Jewish Church, must be the common Right of all Supreme Magistrates in Religion under the Gospel, where Divine Right hath not interposed and made an exemption since from their Jurisdiction; but the Jewish Kings, whilst at the same time they acknowledg'd their Priesthood to be *Jure Divino*, in respect both to the choice of Persons to the Office, and the determination of their Powers and Offices, yet determined them as to the exercise of their Functions; they set and settled the Courses of the Priests according to their

turns, and the various nature of their Services and Ministrations they prescribed, that is, both the When and the Where they shou'd act, and assign'd them stations suitable to the distinctions of their Offices, which God, not they, had made; the Office was Divine, the Power to Act and Commission to do so and so was from God; but what respected the Place and Time for the Exercise of their Functions, it not being determined by God Almighty, the Assignation belonged to them.

David's chusing the place, and *Solomon*'s Building in that place the Temple, to which the publick Worship of God was limited, and on which the Polity of their Religion depended, was not only equal to Founding a Bishoprick or two, but to the digesting of the whole Ecclesiastical Hierarchy; for it was the same kind of local limitation of Priests exercising their Functions, as is ascertaining Dioceses and Parishes, and tying their particular Officers to them, through a whole National Church, which Christian Princes have consequently the same Right in their Dominions to do, as they had; and their so doing is equally consistent with and unprejudicial to the Divine Right by which the Christian Ministry act, as theirs to that of the Jewish, being local limitations only; which if they cou'd prove the Clergy's Commissions and Powers dependent on the Determinator, the fixing or altering a Curate's Pulpit or Desk, do as effectually do it, as the Founding or Dissolving an Archbishoprick, and this no more than

than that: An outward coercive Power and Right to compel all Ranks to do their Duties, implies a dispository one in it, to determine 'em as to both Time and Place.

Since Christ designed no injury to Civil Rights, that his Religion shou'd be introduc'd with as little alteration as was possible of the Politick Constitutions of the World, and that the Subjects of Princes by becoming his, shou'd be no less theirs, 'tis but reasonable to think, that as he Officer'd his Church, with notable regards of Conformity to that form of Civil Government which mankind had always most approv'd and us'd, so he left all that cou'd be left to Princes, for the accomodation of it in the discharge of its Offices, to the local disposition of their several Countries, and the Civil of their Communities, and leaving general and undetermined Commissions without necessary circumspections, tacitely left that part as a Blank reserv'd for them to fill up.

Where things are necessary to be done in Religion, and God has not determined by whom, 'tis supposed they are to be done by the most proper and convenient instruments, which in things not Miraculous, 'tis agreeable to natural order to think it, his Will shou'd be imploy'd. Now the Supreme Civil Powers have certainly the advantage this way, as the most proper and convenient instruments, to mark out in their several Territories Ministerial Stations, and demand Officers to them, without whom, as the disposition cou'd not be so rightly and conve-

niently made, ſo neither ſo effectually adminiſter'd, without ſome of thoſe ſubſidiary helps which the corruption of Men make neceſſary to have thence ſupplied.

Since the Church is incloſed in the State, and the ſame Perſons in great meaſure common Members of both, the Civil Power's intereſt in them is ſuch, as cannot do leſs than create it aright, ſo far as is conſonant to the Divine Platform of Church Offices, to preſcribe which way is moſt proper for them, that the Lines of thoſe Spheres wherein thoſe Offices are to be ſeverally exerciſed, ſhou'd run, and mark out which, and how many of its Subjects, with the greateſt Correſpondence to the nature of itsDominions,and leaſt croſsing of their Civil Duty with their Religious, ſhou'd be under the ſame Common Eccleſiaſtical Officers, ſo as beſt to anſwer the engagements of their double ſubjection. Who ſhou'd provide Quarters for Chriſt's Army in their Military State, and March through this World, but his Father's and his own (as God) Lieutenants and Vicegerents ſeverally through whoſe Territories they paſs? To whom, as Commanding Officers, as he commits the care of ſeeing them obſerve good Order and Diſcipline, ſo of commanding them to their reſpective Stations.

The Church and State run like Parallel Lines within each other, the State the outer and more comprehenſive, the Church co-extended within it, whoſe Form 'tis not only fitteſt it ſhou'd follow, and ſo is deſigned, but 'tis almoſt impoſſible it ſhou'd do otherwiſe,

wise, and whose changes must answerably affect it, and with whose vicissitudes it must suffer together, at least locally consider'd, with respect either to the general dimensions of its whole, or particular of its Districts: Now it lying in the breast of the supreme Powers, to build or demolish, to fill with People or depopulate, and by transferring mankind here and there to bring down often populous Cities to Villages, and Solitudes, whilst from *Villæ* and Wasts others rise to populous Cities, leaves it in their power at the same time to bring down an Episcopal Seat to a Parochial Cure, and raise a Parish Church to a Metropolitical Cathedral; and the Church early saw the necessity of submitting her dispositions according to these Changes, as appears by the Sanctions of *Trullo*, *Const.* Can. 39. *Let the Order of the Church follow the Order and Type of the Commonwealth.* That of *Chalcedon*, Can. 17. *de Parochiis*——*si qua vero civitas potestate imperiali novata est, aut si protinus innovetur, civiles dispositiones & publicas Ecclesiasticarum quoque Parochiarum ordines subsequantur.* The sence of which is, That the nature and dignity of Ecclesiastical Charges ought to be directed by, and follow those Civil Elevations or Depressions of Places, which they shou'd undergo, through the Imperial Authority's Favour or Offence.

Not to mention lastly, That the Notions of Ecclesiastical Distinctions proceeding either from pre-occupation and primary Conversion, or Bishops chusing their own Dioceses,

ceſſes, or being firſt Ordain'd, then left with their Presbyters to have the Epiſcopal direction of ſo many as they cou'd perſwade to be under their Care, which are the ways which I find ſet up againſt the Civil Power's Right, labour under greater difficulties and improbabilities than attend this Right allow'd.

Nor can I ſee what inconveniencies the Right of thus forming the Church, by aſſigning of Stations, and the Miniſtry to them by the Civil Power, ſubjects the Church to, or how it any more puts it in the Civil Hands to oppreſs and extinguiſh the Chriſtian Religion as ſome wou'd have it, than any other of thoſe Rights do, which by vertue of the Supremacy are generally allow'd to it, if it keep within its proper bounds; which if it think fit to exceed, and turn its force againſt the Church, with or without that Right, wou'd be much the ſame thing, the conſequences of this Right amounting to no more than an univerſal right of Patronage and Preſentation, the *Conge d'eſlire* being but the Preſentation of his Biſhop to his Cure, and is no more a Creation of the Office or Officer without Conſecration, than a private Layman preſenting a Clerk is an Ordination; from which Right no other advantages can be taken, to indanger the Church, than what the Church it ſelf by too looſly guarding the door of Ordination muſt be firſt acceſſary to.

I call the Right of Univerſal Patronage and Preſentation, or Donation of Churches and Spheres Eccleſiaſtical to Church Officers, a Conſequence and Effect of the Fundamental diſpoſitive Right, becauſe it ſuppoſes a Prior Diſpoſition and Acts upon it already made; the Preſentation of Clerks, ſuppoſes Churches already prepared to receive them and Pariſhes made, and the Right of Univerſal Preſentation being in the Supreme Magiſtrate, ſhows the preceding Right of Diſpoſition lodg'd there alſo.

Now that the Right of Univerſal Patronage and Preſentation is the Supreme Magiſtrate's, is made good by concurrance of all the Cauſes that that Right was firſt created by (not to mention his Power Super-eminent) ſuch as building Churches, endowing them, and being Lord of the Soil, and from this Right of the Supreme, all Rights of Private Patronage have flow'd, and are held in dependence, and into it therefore by our Law are ultimately reſolv'd, and falls back again by forfeiture or neglect of the Stated condition of the Tenure.

The Canons uſually alledged againſt this Right of the Supreme Magiſtrate, ſuch as thoſe againſt the Secular Power's interpoſing in the Election of Biſhops, the Emperors inveſtitures and promotion to that Dignity, are either (as is obſerv'd againſt them) ſuch of them as are Authentick, and of Authority miſ-underſtood, being meant not againſt the Right it ſelf, but the abuſe of it only by Heretical or Barbarous Princes pretending, together

gether with Epiſcopal Nomination and Inveſtiture, to give alſo the eſſential Powers and Characters of the Order, by vertue of their Regal Authority, excluſive of Conſecration, and the Churches either Confirmation or Approbation, or elſe are undue Acts, Injurious to Princes whoſe Right in this matter is confirm'd by more and more conſiderable contrary Teſtimonies, and the due exerciſe of it by them exemplified in all the Orders of the Clergy, Presbyters, Biſhops, Metropolitans, and Popes themſelves, not only Admitted, but Acknowledg'd, Approv'd, and Applauded.

Thirdly, We are to enquire into the particular Forms of diſtricts, how far they are diſcretional, I mean, not abſolutely conſider'd whether to be made or no, for ſo far they are declar'd neceſſary; but what Liberties are left, and how far they are juſtly ſubject to their Aſſignators, as to their accidental Diſpoſition, Site, and Dimenſion, which I ſhall do, by conſidering the grounds of Religious Diſpoſition. Eccleſiaſtical Diſtricts being deſign'd proper Spheres of Action for the Offices of the Miniſtry to be imploy'd in, muſt be directed by the nature of thoſe Offices to which they muſt be anſwerably Proportion'd, as well in their ſimple extents, as in the relative habitudes of Subordination to each other.

Chriſt ſo wonderfully ſuited the Offices of his Miniſtry to the Conſtitution of the World, and Mankind in it, that the Diſpoſitions already made by nature, or upon Civil Accounts, ſhou'd

ſhou'd ſerve generally alſo with little alteration for the other; and Mankind, as they lay divided in Civil Reſpects, without trouble found themſelves alſo form'd in their Eccleſiaſtical Capacity, the Eccleſiaſtical Offices eaſily and naturally falling in with the Civil. Chriſt, as in his Perſon, ſo in the Inſtitutions of his Religion, deſcending amongſt Men like Rain into a Fleece of Wooll, Softly and Silently, and as without Pomp and Solemnity, ſo without Tumult or Diſordering the World, the Offices of his Miniſtry anſwering the ſeveral diſtinctions of Mankind into Communities, according to all their Subordinations; ſo that the Body of Mankind remaining in the ſame Poſture, found the Polity and Diſcipline of Chriſt's Religion ſo fitly applied and accomodate to its ſeveral parts, as to perform the double Motions required by both Governments, as they lay, even as in one Man Grace uſes the œconomy of Nature, and the ſame ſet of Members and Faculties ſerve eaſily in common for the Adminiſtration of both Principles by turns, under one ἡγεμονικὸν, with no more trouble, than that of different Application of thought; the Chriſtian Offices being contriv'd to meet Mankind in each of thoſe Diſpoſitions for Civil Order and Life, which were Univerſal, and go along with 'em thro' all the forms of Society, from Empires down to Cities and Villages, of which, Cities are a conflux as they are of Families, the Presbyterial and Epiſcopal Office branch'd into its ancient and venerable Archiepiſcopal degrees, demanding the very ſame diſtributions, ſo that

that according to *Ezekiel*'s Prophetical Representation of a Wheel in the midst of a Wheel, this Wheel of the Church is so kindly inclos'd within the greater Wheel of Civil Government, and jointed into it, that tho' seeming to drive different ways, they yet so conspire and consent, that instead of clashing and impeeding, mutually as one solid Machine do further each others Motions.

Deacons are an imperfect Order, as their Institution shows, the Servants of the Priesthood only, having no Ecclesiastical presidency, but in Conjunction with Priests, as they execute their Orders and supply their Places, and can have no distinct Spheres of Action therefore proper to their Office, but as they Act in Conjunction with Presbyters whose Assistants they are in theirs.

So the first perfect Officer of the Christian Church is the Presbyter or Priest by Contraction strictly so call'd, the immediate subject of whose care being particular and individual Christians, and Limitations and Restrictions of Ecclesiastical Powers being granted necessary, it follows, That in every Christian Country there must be an Assignment of Presbyterates, or such distinctions made with respect to local extent, and number of Persons contained in them, as may conveniently come together and compose one Congregation sufficient to imploy the Care of one Presbyter, and not exceeding the possibility of his single and particular Inspection, and discharging towards them, as well in general as particular, at least with the help of a

Deacon

Deacon or Aſſiſtant, all the parts of his Spiritual Care and Office.

The Sociable Conjunctions of Families in the loweſt Communities, Towns and Villages, with their ſtraggling appurtenant Habitations, being found Convenenient Spheres already provided and beſpoke for the Presbyteral Office to exerciſe themſelves ſeverally in, were very early we find laid hold on to that purpoſe, as allotments markt out by Providential Deſignation for the Office to apply it ſelf too, ſo that ſo early as the Councel of *Ancyra* at leaſt, *An.* 314. *Can.* 32. how much farther back I know not, Pariſh or *Villa*, and a Church or Chriſtian Congregation were come to be convertible Terms, and tho' Cities were generally Converted before the parts of rural Provinces, as the word Pagan ſhows, yet the Country was more advantageouſly diſpoſed to fall into this part of Political Chriſtian Order, and more eaſily and early receiv'd the Regulation of Diſtinct Presbyteral Adminiſtration than Cities, from which nevertheleſs they receiv'd the Goſpel, ſo that Cities borrow'd back from the Country both the Model and Name of Presbyteral Diſtribution, and even to an impropriety, call their Limitations of Preſbyters Cures to this day Pariſhes, that is allotments ſet out in Imitation of Country, Towns or Villages.

Not that we can ſuppoſe otherwiſe, but that Cities had their Congregational Diſtinctions and Diviſions in them, almoſt from the firſt publication of the Goſpel, and ſo ſomething like Pariſhes, tho' without

out the Name, or perfect Regulation or Assignation of a single Presbyter to each; for when the Multiplicity or Diffusion of Believers became such, as we find it did in *Jerusalem*, presently after the Apostles first Sermons, that they cou'd not conveniently any longer act or meet together in one place in common, either for Worship or otherwise, Necessity, if not Choice, must enforce their dividing themselves, and breaking into several Congregations, like Parochial Distinctions. And St. *Paul* in his Epistles, not only to *Rome*, but to the other Cities of lesser note, and secondary ones, as to the Receipt of the Gospel, acquaints us with such Congregational Divisions already made, adding, besides the general Salutation to the whole Body of Christians, particular ones to the Church that was in such and such a ones House, which he doing, after having named both the Master and the Mistress of the Family, must design besides the Domesticks, that *Grotius* wou'd have only meant, *Rom.* 16. others that used to meet and join there together in Worship.

And ascribing therefore the first Congregational or Parochial Limitations in *Rome*, from whence the rest of the Christian World took the Pattern, to Pope *Evaristus*, as the first Author, about the Year 112, must be a mistake, since they must have been before, and where we find in several Cities, and in *Rome* it self in St. *Paul*'s Life time.

That

That that Pope first instituted Regionary or Arch-Deacons, according to the Number of Deacons mention'd in *The Acts of the Apostles*, may probably be true enough; but his Disposing of Titles to Presbyters in the City, which are the Words insisted on, as Evidence for his being the Founder of Parishes, can at most but signify some Reformation of Parochial Districts, and not their Original Constitution; for considering how vast a City then *Rome* was, how early it had receiv'd the Gospel, 'tis impossible to imagine it meant of first making Congregational Distinctions in the several Quarters of the City, Christians being long before too numerous, besides the attending Inconveniencies, for one Assembly; and 'tis rather strange there shou'd have been so few as Seven; but whether the Word *Titles* signifies Churches themselves, as *Baronius* thinks, or a Presentation, or appropriate Right given to exercise the Presbyteral Function in such a Congregation, as with us at present, his disposing of Titles seems not the making originally Congregational Distinctions within the City, but fixing and tying Presbyters one or more, to such Descriptions already made and known, so as by way of appropriation to be call'd the Presbyters of such a Quarter or Distinction; as we say the Rector of such a Parish, together perhaps with the insignation of such Ecclesiastical Wards, or the places of Assembling in those Wards with the name of some Apostle, Saint, *&c.* to be called and known by, by way of Distinction.

For Cities till that time and a great while after, were govern'd by Bishops and a convenient number of Presbyters under them, that acted not by distinction of their several Charges, nor each having his particular quarter, where, and over whom to Preside, but all in common, so as to be all the Presbyters of that whole City, to which they were limited, but bound to no particular attendances in one part more than another, but interchangeably and intermixtly doing Duty here or there, as the Bishop saw fit, by whose direction they were disposed of in their acting; as they had not seperate maintainances, but one Common Church Stock, of which the Bishop was the usual manager and dispencer, not unlike some of our Cathedral Constitutions.

The Superior Church Officer above the Presbyter is the Bishop, whose Title to Divine Right and Institution, is so clearly set forth in the Evangelick Scriptures, as not to be deny'd, unless by those Christians whose Minds the pre-possession of strong Prejudices or gross Ignorance has fatally Clouded, whose Office demands therefore an Assignation of a Correspondent Charge in a Christian Nation.

What particular Christians are to Presbyters, that Presbyters themselves with their Charges are to Bishops, as such, in respect of Christian Polity; the next and immediate Subjects Episcopal care not being single Christians, but Presbyters with their Congregations, and the Politick Members of the Church,

Church, or Churches taken in a Complex sence for a Syſtem of Congregations.

The ſame reaſon and neceſſity of Order that there is for the Presbyteral Office in the Government of the Church, there is alſo for the Epiſcopal; for the ſame cauſe that makes it neceſſary for ſo many ſingle Chriſtians as amount to a Congregation to have a Presbyter or Spiritual Officer over them, make it at leaſt equally neceſſary, for Presbyters themſelves by the ſame Rule, to have an Officer ſet at equal diſtance in reſpect of Order over them, when multiplied to a number equal to the individuals of their own Charges; for 'tis but the ſame method purſued on by the manifeſt Rules of Analogy and Proportion, as he that ſays 'tis neceſſary for every Ten Men in an Army to have an Officer over them, for the ſame reaſon ought to allow that each Ten times Ten which are the very ſame number of Politick unities, ought to have one alſo over them.

And the ſame Analogical Conſiderations which from the Presbyteral Office firſt granted and ſettled, naturally dictate (if Revelation had been leſs expreſs) the neceſſity of the Epiſcopal, do alſo preſcribe and point out the nature and proportion of Epiſcopal Spheres or Dioceſes; for ſince Presbyters and their Congregations are their Individuals, a Syſtem of which is their Charge, they ought to ſtand in the like proportion of number to them, as particular Perſons do to the Prieſt.

Now as the Presbyteral Charge was by Divine Wisdom, disposing all things sweetly throughout, contriv'd to fall in with Mankind in the simple and lowest Societies of Towns and Villages, and down to single Families, so this Superior Rank of Officers, were no less suited to fall in with 'em in their next ancient and universal distinction, by Cities and their *Agri*, or dependences and lesser Societies Circumjacent, which generally amount to a proper and competent Charge, according to the foremention'd proportions, or whose excesses and defects are easily at least regulated; and the Apostles so early and readily assigning them accordingly, show, if not a positive and reveal'd, yet in a high manner a manifest providential designation, of the nature of the Episcopal Office to those urbick with their suburbick descriptions of the World, which method is as Sacred and as Inviolable as if it had been *Jure Divino*.

The Catholick Church has perpetually observ'd, and by Canons anciently confirm'd, That no Bishop be Ordain'd in *Villæ*, Castle, or Country place, but in Cities only, whose Eminencies have always been made choice of, as the proper *Speculæ* of those Ecclesiastical Watch-men.

The rest of the Churches Polity is form'd by distinguishing the Episcopal Order into Archiepiicopal Degrees, which degrees of Episcopal eminence ought by no means to be lookt on as *assumenta*, New Cloath sow'd on to the Old Garment of Church Government only, to bring it to the Mode and Fashion of

the

the World, the Introductions of after Ages when the Primitive simplicity of Christian Order began to be Corrupted with Humane Invention, and Pride and Wantonness had created a hankering after secular imitation, but deriv'd from Primitive and Apostolick Practice, and hardly to be excluded from Divine Institution.

The first of these in Order above the Diocesan, is the Metropolitan or Provincial Bishop, so ancient, that *Grotius* Twice if no oftner in his Annotations, does this degree of Episcopacy the Honour, to think it pointed to be St. *Paul* himself, under the Word Teachers, which he expounds by a more eminent degree of Bishops, set over more Churches than one, tho' not called till afterwards by the name of Metropolitan, *Rom.* 12. *Eph.* 4. following herein St. *Chrisostom*, who interprets ποιμένες and διδασκάλους by ὁλόκληρον ἔθνος πεπιστευμένους, those intrusted with a whole Nation, *Ephes.* 4. And *Titus* and *Timothy* with good reason are lookt upon to have been of this Prelate Order, as well by the extent of the former Dioceses, the whole Island of *Crete*, whose once Hundred Cities were hardly dwindled so low yet, as one, as by the directions given to both, not only for the Ordination, but for the Government of other Bishops in Subordination.

The Original of Metropolitanism allowed by its Adversaries is sufficient evidence of both its Antiquity and just grounds of Prelation, which is, That the light of the Gospel being first set up in some one City of

a Province, was thence, and from its Bishop, Communicated to the other Towns and Cities in it, which were as so many Christian Colonies drawn out and derived from this first, by which account its Antiquity being from the first secondary Propagations of the Gospel, in Provinces, cannot fall short of the Apostolick Age; and the Original grounds and reasons of such Episcopal Superiority appear also hence to have been very just, laying a visible Foundation of those imminutions of Dignity, and so creating a fair title to those Superior Priviledges and that Jurisdiction of Bishops, and Sees in Consequence over each other, which is claimed; For what more creates a Superiority, than a Priority of Being, and a derivation of it to others, which holds stronger in Religion than in Natural or Civil respects? And we find St. *Paul* therefore laying great stress upon his being the *Corinthian*'s Father in Christ, 1 *Cor.* 4. 5. and in *Rom.* 16. 7. he uses *Andronicus* and *Junia*'s being before him in Christ, as a note not only of their Praise, but Preference.

But supposing these secondary Plantations in Provinces from the first were so equal to their Constitutors, as to be under no necessity of Inferiority of Jurisdiction, or Subordination to them, but that the veneration and deference paid by them, were only voluntary acknowledgments, the effects of pure Gratitude and Decency, without Obligation from positive Institution; yet being once begun upon Moral Reasons, that cou'd never wholly cease, and so long carried on, till they past from

from Custom into a Law, and till such a Subordination was Establish'd from Motives of convenience and necessity of Order also, added to that of Primitive Practice and Universal Consent, so early as the Councel of *Nice*, where the Metropolitical Dignity is called even then an Ancient Custom, having by that been time long enough out of Mind to be sure, is sufficient Authority to vindicate the laying out Christian Countries Provincially under one Head Bishop as a Sacred Method.

The πρῶτος or *Primas* is also a very ancient name and title of Episcopal eminence, as we find by the 35th of those called the Apostles *Can.* which we may call the Grand Metropolitan, being a distinct advance of degree above, and jurisdiction beyond the bare Metropolitan, designing as I apprehend, a Superior amongst several Metropolitans carrying the Correspondence of Christian Polity to Civil, beyond that of Provinces, suited to Mankind in their disposition by Nations and Kingdoms, where several Provinces are united under one Sovereignty into one Community. It was not the dignity of Cities, nor the respect paid to their Antiquity as Bishops Sees, nor the veneration due to them from an Apostle or Evangelist, or some Apostolick Man, having first presided in them, (to which nevertheless the Church was not wanting in paying proper regards, as appears by the Canons made to preserve the Dignity of Ancient Sees) that raised the Bishops of the first Sees from Metropolitans to Primates; but indeed

that higher Advance, follow'd the other by the necessary order and course of things, as by Propagation continued, Men naturally grow from Fathers to Grandfathers, for it being impossible for the Apostles to address themselves to Mankind, and the several Nations of it in particulars, they applied themselves to such Cities as were, if not the Heads of Provinces and Kingdoms, yet the most convenient for the diffusion of their Doctrine thro' each; and not being capable of Ecclesiastically Modelling Mankind throughout, the utmost they con'd do, was to form one Church, fix one Bishop with Presbyters, and draw one Plan of Christian Constitution for each Country they came to, and leave it to the care of this Foundation to scatter farther Seminaries from thence thro' the Body of large Nations; whence this Mother Church of Course as the rest came in, must become first Metropolitical, by Communicating the Faith to the several Heads of Provinces, as those Heads again by a second derivation doing the like to other their dependent Cities, to which they stood in a Metropolitical Capacity, must advance the Original Foundation to the degree of Primacy, and the Church, not to say Originally, yet so early and so naturally as 'tis plain she must, falling into this primatical form of Subordination, and settled Inferiority of Provincial Bishops and Sees to one National Superior, and being found happily to proceed in it, 'tis no wonder that it has been not only preserv'd in the Church, but pursuant Regulations have been made by a like

a like digeſtion of Epiſcopates, even in Kingdoms where thoſe Natural advances to this degree by Communicating the Faith to each other had not made it, and a reduction of them to a form ſo agreeable to the Diviſion of the World into Kingdoms, and the temper of Monarchical Government.

The Chriſtian World was heretofore ſet out alſo into Patriarchates, and Metropolitans and Primates were ranged under their ſeveral Patriarchs, as their ſeveral Dioceſans were under them; a Patriarchate conſiſting of a ſet of Kingdoms, a Patriarch being the General Superintendent of ſeveral National Churches, whoſe Primates and Metropolitans, paid him ſome honorary Homages, but not amounting to any dependences of Jurisdiction, unleſs when they acted together as one Common and Eccleſiaſtical Body.

Theſe Patriarchal Sees were generally reckon'd five in number, *Jeruſalem*, *Antioch*, *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, and *Alexandria*.

Some wou'd Date the Original of both the Patriarchal Name and Dignity from the firſt Councel of *Conſtantinople*, or at fartheſt that of *Nice*, whoſe 6th Canon they wou'd make to be the firſt ground of Patriarchal diſcriptions; and 'tis not eaſy I believe to give an inſtance of the Title Patriarch, in the Chriſtian Church before, becauſe I find it is not done bythe defenders of its greater Antiquity, which ought not nevertheleſs to prejudice us againſt it, ſince 'tis a name as is obſerv'd in its vindication, very Ancient, uſed upon a Religious account both by *Gentiles* and *Jews*, both

both Ancient and Modern, who ſtiled their chief religious Officer Patriarch, from whom as a Title ingratiating to both, it happily paſt into the Chriſtan Church, tho' not more happily on thoſe Accounts, I think, than becauſe 'tis warranted and often uſed in Scripture, applied to the Founders of Tribes and Families in the Iſraelitick Nation, which was a Type of the Chriſtian Church, appropriate eſpecially to the Twelve Sons of *Jacob*, the Fathers of the Jewiſh Nation, who were manifeſt Types of the Twelve Apoſtles; for as the Apoſtles were to the Chriſtian Church what the Sons of *Jacob* were to the *Jews*, and the number of the Apoſtles was aſſign'd by Chriſt with undoubted Correſpondence to their Number, ſo we need not doubt to ſay but the Apoſtles, both as to Name and Thing, were true Chriſtian Patriarchs.

From the Apoſtles thus allowed Patriarchs, nothing follows to the Advantage of the Pope's claim of Univerſal Supremacy, nor even of his more modeſt Pretence of being at preſent the Weſtern Patriarch; for the Patriarchal Power and Character ſo far as it was extraordinary and purely Apoſtolick, ceas'd with the Apoſtles themſelves; and ſo far as it was ordinary and perpetual to be continued in the Church, and accordingly was carried on and imitated by it, it ſhuts him out from any tolerable Plea of ſucceeding into any Part or Lot in Patriarchal Juriſdiction; for tho' old *Rome* was a Patriarchate, yet 'tis contradicting the Nature and End of that Degree

Degree and Inſtitution, to permit *Rome* at preſent to be ſo, whoſe Biſhop is almoſt than any other a more improper Perſon, and his Plea for it moſt impertinent, did the Poſture of things make that Epiſcopal advance now neceſſary.

For the Sacred Offices and Orders of his Miniſtry, for the Government of his Church, being given by Chriſt, as has been ſaid, with ſtrict regards to his former Ordinance of Civil Government, to make Mankind eaſy, by croſſing and unhinging, as little as poſſible, their Civil Conſtitutions; therefore to thoſe parts of Humane Diſpoſition only, and Digeſtion by Cities and Vills which are fixt and immutable, the unchangeable and fundamental Orders of Prieſthood were appropriate, the others being left to follow the variable State and Fate of the Bodies related to. Patriarchates, Primacies, and Metropolitaniſms, being ſubject to the ſame Mutations that Provinces, Kingdoms and Empires are, the Epiſcopal Order either enlarging it ſelf up to thoſe Eminencies, or drawing back it ſelf from them into it ſelf, as the Turns of Providence makes their ſeveral Stations agreeable, and therefore we find that thoſe Degrees have been often fixt and re-fixt, tranſlated from Place to Place, and Perſon to Perſon.

The higheſt Degree of Eccleſiaſtical Honour, and Extent of Juriſdiction, being the Patriarchate, anſwering the higheſt Degree of Civil Community, which is Empire, or a Conſtitution of Kingdoms, can only have place

place in an Empire, and that Biſhop only, whoſe City is the Head of that Empire, is regularly intitled to the Patriarchal Dignity.

If that Imperial Body and Conſtitution is broke, ſo that from being the Head of a Juſt Empire, that City becomes the Head of a ſingle Kingdom, the Biſhop, from a Patriarch, is neceſſarily took down a Step lower, to a Primate.

If from the Head of a Kingdom 'tis leſſen'd to be ſo of a Province only, the Epiſcopal Chair muſt again deſcend along with it, from that of a Primate, to that of a Metropolitan.

If from the Metropolis of a Province it ſink once more, to have no other Dependencies but an *Ager*, with Towns and Vill's from a Metropolitan-Chair, it muſt be conented to ſubmit to that of an ordinary Dioeſan, and become a ſimple Biſhoprick.

Now *Italy* being the moſt broken Part of the Chriſtian World, crumbled all into many independent Communities, and *Rome* once, its and the World's Head, left the Head only of an inſignificant Territory, which its Biſhops, by Arts un-epiſcopal, being become the Temporal Lords of, they may indeed huff and ſwagger within the narrow Circumference of that their wretched Dominion, which, Providence humbling their Pride, and puniſhing their Ambition, has reduc'd them to; but for Patriarchs by ſignal Diſpenſation, has ſo notoriouſly unfitted that their boaſted Chair of St. *Peter*, if it were ſo, that

that of all the Epiſcopal Seats of Chriſtendom, 'tis the moſt loſt that way, and almoſt laſt to be thought of; for Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, by Chriſt's undoubted Deſignation, being to be conform to the Proportion of Civil Bodies, in which Chriſtianity is inclos'd, may be commenſurate to the utmoſt Degrees of thoſe Bodies; but cannot exceed or leap over their Bounds, ſo as to lye part in one Civil Body, and part in another. And the Biſhop of *Vienna*, *Paris*, *Canterbury*, *Madrid*, have each a fairer Title at preſent to be Patriarchs, than the Pope of *Rome* has to be a Metropolitan, if he keep himſelf within *Rome*'s Dependences, his juſt Limits; he has no other way left open to that Univerſal Supremacy he aſpires to, but continuing himſelf a Juriſdiction, by breaking through all the Independent Bodies that lye in its way, as if the World were one Waſt, without all regards to the Diſcriptions of Civil Order, running his Power quite a-thwart all the Lines and Boundaries which Chriſt inſtituted his Offices with ſo nice Concurrence to; and for Chriſtians to uphold or ſubmit to this unwarrantable Exaltation of it ſelf in this City, which God has cruſh'd and curs'd, is affronting Heaven, that by a Train of Providences has writ it down no longer the Seat of a Patriarch. When Providence brings down the Grandeur and Power of Cities, 'tis preſumptuous in Men to pretend to uphold them in their former Prerogatives, Inconſiſtent with their Decays, and continue thoſe Rights and Advantages, whether of Juriſ-

Jurisdiction or Order, to them over Nations and Provinces, which they once were the Heads of, when they have ceas'd any longer to be so. Such Devotion paid to Places for the sake of what they had been, carried on too far, being the same Superstitious Dotage with that of Worshipping Bones and Relicks, and doing the same Homage to the useless and corrupted Remains of a Saint, as belong'd to his whole living Person, and must, if persisted in, frequently end in the ridiculous absurdity of having an Archbishop of Ruins only, or a Dunghil.

Rome besides has forfeited whatever Religious Reverence, and Right of Ecclesiastical Pre eminence might be due to her from the Consideration of her former Dignity, by degenerating from all her former Purity, into a sink of Scandal, and corrupt both in Manners and Doctrine, by abusing the Regards of Christendom that way, to occasions of Tyranny and Domineering, and challenging that as Duty, which were Acknowledgments of free Courtesy, and her Pope affecting to be more than a Patriarch, when he was fallen to so much less.

Rome indeed puts the same Cheat upon Christendom with relation to her self, that she does with relation to some of her Superstitious Trumpery; for as she makes Men pay more Worship to the rotten Bone of, may be, some vile Miscreant's Thumb, passing for that of St. *Peter*, &c. than was due not only to that Apostolick Article, were it real, but to the living Body of the Saint;

and

and requires that Adoration to a few Drops of the Milk of Fornication, may be, lately made in the Breast of a Nun, by the Operation of a Friar, put off for the Virgin *Mary*'s; which that Blessed Virgin wou'd by no means have admitted of to her living Person. So *Rome*, in her fallen Estate, supposedly palming her self upon the World, for the same she once was, adorns her present Grand Metropolitan of Courtezans only, and Patriarch of Nephews, with Titles beyond the utmost due to him, were she all that she once was, and now is not.

I cannot but farther add, in honour of Archiepiscopacy, some Thoughts that seem to raise it beyond a bare Dependence on Humane Laws and Institution: For,

First, It being granted that Christ adapted the Offices and Regimen of his Church to the Posture of Mankind, intending a co-incidence of it with Civil Distributions, it cannot be thought he shou'd design that accomodation to the inferior Parts of Communities, Villages and Cities only, and neglect it in the Superior, and more considerable, to make such an attemperation effectual, in Provinces, Kingdoms, and Empires.

Secondly, Its Degrees are such convenient, not to say, necessary Gradations, from the Ecclesiastical Supreme (allowing the chief Civil Power to be so) that make Church Administration under its Direction, more easie and regular; so that 'tis hardly possible not to suppose them Original and Essential to the Church; for the form of Government

is

is like that of a Pyramid, which may stand for its proper Hierogliphick, being the reduction of a Multiplicity, at least a Plurality of inferior Powers and Offices, by equidistant Contraction, to close at last, and be united in one supreme *Apex*; but for the Government of large National Churches, consisting of a great many Episcopates, the reduction to Unity from thence, and much more still from Presbyteral Charges, is too sudden and precipitate, out of Political Symmetry, either for Beauty or Convenience of commanding the Body, without the Interposition of other Degrees, to make the assent to the Supreme more gradual, and leisurely to fill up the Proportions of the Polity, which otherwise must either be hiulch, with a gaping and unsupply'd vacancy, showing somthing wanting or broke off, or else monstrous by a too sudden close *in capite* like a Humane Head set on before it shou'd be, upon the under half of a Man's Body, as such a Church also like a great Body with too few Joints, must be both unweildy in its Motions, and its Command clouterly and unexact.

Thirdly, Because the main Objection against the Divine Designation of Archiepiscopacy is the Names of its Degrees not being Scriptural, I shall take notice of some Texts of Scripture that by easie Construction seem favourable to its Divine Institution; the first of which shall be 1 *Cor.* 12. where St. *Paul* giving us an account of the Divine Institution of Church-Government, and the number

ber and ſort of Officers appointed for its Management, tells us, that there are Diverſities of Gifts, Differences or Diverſities of Adminiſtrations, and Diverſities of Operations; Now can any Man in tolerable Conſtruction, bring all this repeated Outcry of Diverſities upon Diverſities of Powers and Offices, for the Uſe of the Church, to Two or Three at laſt, and to end all in a Deacon and a Presbyter, with the Addition of an amphibious Lay-Elder? Or can the Three ſimple Offices of Deacon, Prieſts, and Biſhops, anſwer this Repetition of Diverſities, without importing at leaſt a Variety of further Diſtinction and Degrees in thoſe Orders?

Again, *Verſe* the 12th, he compares the Church in reſpect of its Offices to a Body Natural, *As the Body*, ſays he, *is one, and has MANY Members, and all the Members of that one Body being MANY, are one Body, and the Body is not one Member, but MANY; ſo alſo is Chriſt*, or his Body the Viſible Church on Earth, in reſpect to its Government. Why how is Chriſt? Why directed under one Supreme, by as great a Variety of different ſort of Offices; and certainly 'tis an odd and ſtrange Conſtruction, to bring down this Apoſtolick *MANY*, and *MANY*, and *MANY*, and all mention'd in the Compariſon to Two or Three, or think that Chriſt's Body can be like a Humane Body, if it had but Two or Three Points in it, or without the Compariſon that it ſhould be ſo.

But what's more remarkable, is in the 28th *Verſe*, where St. *Paul* enumerating the ſeveral ſorts of Church-Officers, Extraordinary and Ordinary, that were or ſhou'd be, after naming Apoſtles, Prophets, Teachers, Miracles, Gifts of Healing, adds, in general Terms, Helps and Governments, which are neither the proper Names of Officers, nor of Offices; but only expreſs the Nature and Eminent Properties of ſome Church-Offices.

That the Offices meant, be they what they will, are various, of more than one Denomination of each kind probably, the Words both put plurally, do point out to us, it was not one ſort of Help, but Helps, or ſundry kind of Church Aſſiſtants; not one Government, but Governments, or more than one kind or degree of Governors.

That they were Officers, other and different from all the afore-mention'd, and ſuch as was neither meant, nor Men wou'd apprehend at that time, either by Apoſtles, Prophets, or Teachers, muſt alſo be allow'd to free the Apoſtle from needleſs Repetition.

And that they were no mean Offices, but Great and Eminent Stations in the Church, the natural force of the Words themſelves, *Governments* and *Helps*, demands; the former being generally explain'd by ποιμένες and προϊσάμενοι Paſtors, and thoſe ſet over; and the latter, *Helps*, *Grotius* expounds by no leſs than *Præſides* and

and *Presbyteri*, and obſerves that moſt of the *Greeks* explain it by προεδρίας Prefectures. Their Divine Inſtitution is fully likewiſe aſſerted, *God has ſet them in the Church.*

Some, becauſe they cannot, or are unwilling to find theſe divinely inſtituted Offices in the Church, wou'd have them to be Offices that were indeed in being at firſt a while, ſome of thoſe neceſſary whilſt the Church was a Conſtituting; but that being done, laid aſide. But this is by no means likely; for however ſhort-liv'd they might be, it is impoſſible but they muſt have been more heard of, and being Offices of Dignity and Eminence, the Scripture, that vouchſafes to deſcend to record leſs conſiderable Inſtitutions, cou'd not have been ſo ſilent, but muſt have acquainted us with ſome ſhare that they bore in the Propagation of the Goſpel; nor cou'd the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians have ſo far fail'd, as to have all quite over-look'd 'em.

Others, by *Helps*, wou'd have Deacons, by *Governments*, Prieſts and Biſhops, deſign'd; but neither will this do, becauſe theſe as ſimple Orders are all before mention'd, and ſhut up together in the Word Teachers; for Teachers and Paſtors are all one, and therefore in the parallel Place, the 4th of the *Epheſians*, we find them yoked, and *Teachers* exegetically put after *Paſtors.*

Calvin firſt, and the Followers of his particular Opinions after him, think they clearly diſcover in *Helps* and *Governments*

their Lay-Elders, but with as little ground, abating Authority, as if another ſhou'd ſay, the Apoſtle meant Pariſh-Clerks, Church-Wardens or Apparitors.

But this one may affirm, That nothing either was when St. *Paul* writ, or has ſince been in the Church, after Apoſtles, Prophets, Paſtors and Teachers are reckon'd up, that can ſo tolerably anſwer for the force of the Word *Governments*, that is, ſeveral ſorts and degrees of Church-Preſidents, as the Archiepiſcopal Eminencies, if not then, when the Apoſtle ſpoke, yet not long after commencing, and ever ſince continued, as nothing ſo well ſatisfies the inferior ſenſe of its attending Word, *Helps*, as the ſubſidiary Offices dependent on, and concomitant to Epiſcopacy and its Degrees, ſuch as the *Chorepiſcopi*, or rural Biſhops of old, with the Presbyteral Diſtinctions, like thoſe of Arch-Deacons, Deans, *&c.*

What ſeems inconſiſtent with this Conſtruction of *Helps* and *Governments*, is that St. *Paul* ſays, That God had already ſet theſe Helps and Governments in the Church, whereas Archiepiſcopacy was probably not yet known or begun.

Which admitted to be true, yet this difficulty is remov'd, by conſidering St. *Paul* ſpeaking either firſt prophetically, in which Stile the Scripture frequently expreſſes things future, as preſent or paſt. Or ſecondly, proleptically, by which Mode not un-

unuſually things are ſpoken of before their time, eſpecially if at hand and approaching.

Which in this Caſe is the more, not only allowable, but probable, becauſe we muſt conſider the whole Prieſthood as one and the ſame Thing and Office (*unum Sacerdotium*) given to the Church from God, (from whoſe Hands nothing immediately comes but in perfection) not by piece-meal and maim'd, but inſtituted a ſolid and intire Body together, and accordingly committed to the Apoſtles, whoſe Commiſſions concluded all its Orders and Offices whatſoever πάντα γὰρ ἔχοι ἔνοι. *Chryſoſt. Epheſ.* 4th.

But as things in *Semine*, whoſe Parts, tho' they have them all, are yet for want of due ſpace and diſtance leſs diſtinguiſhable; and as 'tis in the growth of Plants and Animals, which ſucceſſively and by leiſurely progreſſion in proceſs of time, and not till the Body have its utmoſt Complement, receive the juſt Figures, Names and Proportions of their ſeveral Articulations, in diſcrete Exiſtence, and full Dimenſion, tho' the Seed was not without them all before; ſo all the Orders and Diſtinctions of the Prieſthood lying folded up together in the Apoſtolate, may truly and properly be ſaid to have been then ſet in the Church by God Almighty, not when they were exerciſed and appear'd ſeperately, but from the Day the Apoſtles

Apoſtles had their Commiſſions, or had them ſeal'd.

For the gradual Evolution of the Parts of the Prieſthood out of the Apoſtolate, which was no faſter one after another than the daily farther Enlargements of the Church made room for more and more of its Polity, to diſcloſe, and be diſtinctly exerciſed, was not the Original Production, but the diſplaying only of the Prieſthood in Parts, and its more widely opening of its ſelf, by a diſtribution into Particulars; for the management of its Parts ſingly, as the growing State of the Church made farther diſtinctions of ſubordination neceſſary, the Offices, Succeſſively beginning at the loweſt, were parted one by one from the Apoſtolate, and became of one, each a ſeperate Articulation.

That the Churches Offices given all at once came not yet ſo abroad, but were gradually produc'd and wound off from the Apoſtleſhip, is eaſily trac'd in the Scripture: For,

Firſt, We find the Apoſtles the only Church Officers Perſonally ſupplying and doing the work of all together, and no faſter than the increaſe of Subject matter enforc'd, quitting one by one the lower Charges firſt, and Communicating them to others, withdrew themſelves ſtill to thoſe next in Order above.

When the number of Diſciples was multiplyed, and not till then (*Acts* 6.) that is, when the Twelve became inſuffi-

cient

cient to diſcharge Perſonally all the parts of Sacerdotal Adminiſtration, they firſt Inſtitute the Diaconate only, which low Office themſelves had hitherto exercis'd, which by Prayer and Impoſition of Hands they Communicated to others, that they might give themſelves to Prayer and the Miniſtry of the Word, or reſerve themſelves to the higher Offices and nobler parts of the Prieſthood, which now they found claim'd their whole Man; ſo that now the Church had Deacons only and Apoſtles, and tho' 'tis the uſual Opinion that the Church was not then without her diſtinct Presbyters alſo, and that the Seventy Diſciples were ſo Ordain'd by Chriſt before his Aſcention, yet the Hiſtory of the Inſtitution of Deacons ſhows it otherwiſe; for had there been any Presbyters or Church Officers beſides the Apoſtles themſelves, 'tis certain that the Diaconal Trouble wou'd have fallen upon them, rather than the Apoſtles, upon whom it lay; and as thoſe Seventy Presbyters, if they had been ſuch, wou'd have been more than enough to have anſwer'd all the occaſions of Church Service in thoſe the Churches yet ſmall beginnings, ſo they muſt have have been (not the Apoſtles) the complainants of over burden, nor cou'd the addition of Seven Aſſiſtants amongſt ſo many much have help'd the matter, and thoſe Seventy therefore were only a Seminary

minary ready prepar'd for future Church Offices, from whence the Apostolick College might and did make their first Draughts.

When the Church had so far spread it self that they were no more able now to discharge the Presbyteral Duties of Ministring the Word and Sacraments alone, then they were the Diaconical; when they disburden'd themselves of that Care, they ordain'd Elders in every City or Church to whom they commited the care of Souls in their Individual Capacity, confining themselves to a more general Presidency, and applying themselves to the Inspection of Churches.

Again, As the Doctrine of the Gospel, like a train of Heavenly Fire laid by Divine Providence, ran, or rather flew from City to City, so that Christian Churches became (as we find in a little time they did) too numerous and diffused for the Apostles by themselves alone, to fulfill the whole Duty even of this general Inspection, besides, the farther Prospects of Propogating of the Gospel still called them from their Conversions already made, to new and distant Regions, a Necessity was impos'd upon them of Communicating also to others this Branch of simple Episcopal care, and thus their Apostolick Prefecture eas'd of all its lower Charges, must be reduc'd to an Archiepiscopal Form.

That

That thus far the digeſtion of the Chriſtian Miniſtry was gradually carried on by the Apoſtles, is evidently ſet forth in the Scriptures, to wit, into the Three Orders, Deacons, Prieſts and Biſhops, with an Apoſtolick Preſidency covering them all; Now that this Preſidency was by them no farther divided into diſtinct forms and degrees of Subordination, that is, Metropolitical, Primatical and Patriarchal, but remain'd an undivided Superintendency, tho' 'tis not expreſt in Scripture otherwiſe; yet 'tis not probable, having the ſame Reaſons ſtill urging the remaining upper Forms of diſtinct Subordination, that did the firſt, tho' without their Names added till afterwards, the inſtance not being ſingular in the Church, to have Names agreed on ſubſequently to Things and Inſtitutions; beſides there is an agreeableneſs in the Thought, That the firſt Founders of the Church ſhou'd go thro' the whole ſet of her Offices, and beginning at the Deaconſhip, ſhou'd diſtinctly bear every branch, as well to be Examples, as to Teach the Church not to admit to her higher Dignities, but by faithfully paſſing thro' the Inferior Forms.

But taking the leſs probable ſide, That the Apoſtles neither divided their preſidency over Biſhops into any Archiepiſcopal Degrees, neither was it Communicable but Extraordinary, yet ſtill, tho' without a Succeſſion of Power in the ſame

height, it was a pattern of Archiepiſcopal Form, ſo far directing imitation, that it muſt be ſaid, That that Church that has not, where there is room, a forth degree of Archiepiſcopal Advance, comes not to the Apoſtolick Model; which Advances not being new Orders, but Branches ſhooting from the Epiſcopal that bears them, are intitled to the ſame Divine Inſtitution with their Stock, and with Propriety may be ſaid by St. *Paul*, to have been ſet in the Church by God Almighty, tho' they did not come forth of it till Centuries afterwards, as the like branchings out of the ſubſervient Orders in ſome meaſure alſo may.

I have indulg'd my Thoughts in theſe laſt Excurſions the more freely, as well to be even with the Aſſerter, that ſeems never tediouſly entertaining to himſelf, whilſt leſſening theſe Dignities, upon which his Thoughts once faſtning, are never to be puſh'd off, till gorged with Hierarchical Blood they can hang no longer upon that place, as by evidences of Veneration paid to Archiepiſcopacy, to ſhow my ſelf not conſenting to the proceedings of his names ſake's, and fellow Aſſerters of Right's (tho' like two of a Trade they are far from agreeing) that in a different form Attack the Rights of the Metropolitical Chair, and by moſt irreverend uſage of theirs and the Nation's moſt Reverend Epiſcopal Head, in vain are what they profeſs to be towards it.

But

But chiefly to give my self the occasion of Congratulating my Countries Happiness, as well in regard of Civil Order and Government in general, enjoyning that best sort of it, Monarchy guarded against its Inconveniencies, and with its Objections took off, to whose form Christ so notably has suited the Powers that are to act his visible Body the Church, as within it only as its design'd and natural *Theca* and Case, to lie easie, and undistorted in its full Episcopal length, to move in, and together with it, so as to seem no longer two but one Body, not by nonsensical Penetration, but by a kind Compliance, thro' the parts of their Forms growing together.

As in particular by the Pious care of its Governors having Civil Recipients prepar'd in such Just Proportions, according to all the Subordinate diversities of Ecclesiastical Offices, and those Offices in the purity of their Divine Institution, rightly applied to them; and which is above all, having this her Divine frame of Political Disposition thus admitted, animated within by Doctrines of Primitive simplicity, and moved by well temper'd Springs of Scriptural Truth or Apostolick Certainty, in ways Decent without Superstition, Plain without Fedity, or Rudeness.

O that the God that Inspired these Curious Pieces of Political Architecture, and

and has ſo tenderly hitherto regarded them, wou'd alſo inſpire us with the Wiſdom of putting the true value upon this his Benignity, in putting us in theſe fair ways of after living but as happily as Community of Mortal Men can live; dying as happily as thoſe that hope to be Immortal Men can dye; and that once knowing when we are well, we wou'd no longer fall out and batter our ſelves to pieces againſt each other, about which is the beſt way to be worſe.

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INTRODUCTION.

Author 1. IT can't be deny'd by thoſe who have Examin'd into, either the paſt or preſent Condition of Humane Societies, that the Grievances and Miſeries they labour under, are chiefly, if not wholly owing to the abuſe of Power by their Governors, either extending it to ſuch things, as they were not or could not be Truſted with or elſe Employing it, tho' in things belonging to their Cognizance, contrary to the End for which they were Intruſted.

E. Contr. It can, ought, and muſt be deny'd by every Man that has half an Impartial Eye in his Head, and knows any thing of the Tranſactions of Mankind, that the Miſeries of Mankind are chiefly and wholly owing to the abuſe of Power in Governors, ſince half and more than half of 'em are owing to the Diſloyalty of Subjects, the intractability and madneſs of Men, the Turbulency of unruly Spirits, and ill deſigning Perſons, and the unbridled Inſolence of Debauched Natures. And what barbarous Uſage is this of Government and Governors,

to clap at once upon their Backs the Guilt of all the publick Calamities of Mankind, and to juſtifie at the ſame time all the Rebellions, Inſurrections, Riots, and Diſorders of Subjects that have been from the Creation, and ſhall be to the World's end.

Auth. ib. Chriſtians have been miſerably Harraſt by a new pretence of two Independent Powers in the ſame Society, a Doctrine which has not only occaſioned a prodigious Number of Quarrels between Princes and Prieſts, *&c.*

E. Contr. This New Pretence will appear to be as Old as the Creation, at leaſt as Old as the Goſpel, much Older however than his Eraſtian Novelties, which 'tis very Pleaſant for him to inſiſt on the Antiquity of, and whatever Quarrels it has occaſioned ſignifies nothing to the Truth of the thing. The ill Conſequences and Effects of Things by Mens Fault, is no Argument againſt either their Certainty, or Good, ſince by the ſame Rule he impeaches Chriſtanity it ſelf, if his Cavil, what a prodigious Number of Quarrels has it occaſioned, were admitted.

Auth. 2. The Deſign of this Diſcourſe is 1ſt, to ſhow briefly what things the Magiſtrates Power extends to, and in what things Men are ſtill in a ſtate of Liberty or Nature Subject only to God, and their own Conſciences.

E. Contr.

E. Contr. The Deſign of this Diſcourſe is certainly a very hopeful and wonderful Deſign, *viz.* to ſhow that when Men are in the ſtate of Nature they are out of it, and when they are out of it, they are in it, for what elſe is it, to ſay that in Civil Reſpects, where it will appear that Men act moſt as Natural Men, and God has no way Interpoſed, as the Author ſays, there they are out of the ſtate of Nature; in their Religious Capacity as Chriſtians, where God has poſitively tyed them up, put them under Reſtraints, and actually took them out of the ſtate of Nature, there they are in it, few Chriſtians I believe will give him Thanks for aſſerting this Right for them, of their being any way in the ſtate of Nature in Religion, which 'tis their peculiar Advantage that Chriſt has redeemed them from.

Auth. 3. All the Power the Magiſtrate can claim muſt be only mediately from God, but immediately from the People.

E. Contr. By the Magiſtrate the Author has told us he means the *SUMMA POTESTAS*, him or them, who have the Supreme or Legiſlative Power, part of whoſe Character and Definition, tho' the Author has left it out, is that he is *Solius dei imperio ſubditus*, (*Grot. de imp. ſum. pot.*) *ſuper imperatorem eſt ſolus Deus, deo ſolo minor*, and in the

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Language of our Church next under God Supreme, over all Cauſes and Perſons: Now if he claim this Power mediately only from God, but immediately from the People, then 'tis plain the People are put between God and him, and he is not Supreme next under God, but next under the People, and ſo the People both above and below him, and he above and yet under them, Supreme, and yet Dependent, which according to himſelf in the beginning of the next Chapter is impoſſible.

Auth. 4. Nothing can be I think more evident than that between Creatures of the ſame kind, promiſcuouſly Born to all the ſame Advantages, and the uſe of the ſame Faculties, there muſt be an Equality, that is none can have more Power over another, than another has over him.

E. Contr. Nothing I think can be more evident than quite the contrary, that there is hardly a greater Inequality between Angels and Beaſts than between Man and Man naturally, ſo far does one Man excel another, whether in the intrinſick Vertue and Excellence of the Faculties themſelves, of a higher and more refined Nature in ſome than others, or in the Exerciſe and Uſe of thoſe Faculties, and if a ſuperiority of Reaſon, which he makes the Foundation of Paternal Dominion, Create a Natural Right to Govern thoſe who have it in an imperfect

fect Degree, 'tis certain ſuch an Equality of Mankind as he ſuppoſes is Naturally impoſſible.

Nor can any conſiderable Number of Men ever come to ſuch a full ſtate of Equality as he Terms it, but there will be Gradations of Reaſon amongſt 'em, equal to their Number, and they will be naturally therefore Subordinate to each other, the Inferior to the Superior, who have as fair a Title to the Government of the reſt, as he makes the Father have to the Government of his Child under Age, and a few Men cou'd not eaſily be pickt out from a greater Number, whoſe Reaſons and Faculties wou'd be ſo evenly ſized, and of one height, but that ſome wou'd be as Children in compariſon to others to whom they ought to be Subject, till an Equality which will never happen, has given them their Liberty, and made them Free, by ſetting them on the Level; and if the Natural Equality of Mankind is all the Foundation of Original Contract of Government, there certainly never was any, becauſe Men could never Treat upon the Square; and if the Imperfection of Reaſon Naturally Subjects Men to thoſe that have the uſe of it in higher degrees, 'tis certain that every Man is Naturally Subject to ſome or other, and none abſolutely free, but the Wiſeſt Man of all, who is Univerſal Monarch; beſides if immaturity of Reaſon be that which Sub-

jects Children to Parents, every Man of Mature Judgment has as good a Title to command other Mens Children, as his own, and Children are bound to Obey every Man as much as their Parents, and those more who are Wiser, and how does he relax the Bonds of filial Duty here, so far as it consists in Obedience to Parents, when he makes it last no longer, than till Children have the Exercise of Reason, for then they are free Men, and at full liberty to dispose of themselves, when on the contrary, Obedience begins but then to take place, when they are come to the perfect use of Reason. The increase of Reason in Children lessens rather the necessity of Commanding, than the right of doing it, and on the Childrens part the Obligations of Obedience are so much the more heightned, by how much better they understand what Right their Parents have to it, and what they owe them: And what a Door is here open'd to make ungodly Children still more Unnatural and Rebellious, when he not only frees them from Obedience to Parents if they are of Years of Discretion, that is, think themselves Wise enough, and Wiser than their Parents, but delivers up the Poor Parents into their Rule, so as the Children are pleased to think they Dote, of which they are left Judges, and a hopeful Government the Fatherly is, whose Subjects are no longer under Command, than they please to think or declare themselves otherwise.

Auth. ib.

Auth. ib. The Abetters of Arbitrary Power are no ſmall Party even under a Conſtitution which abhors any ſuch Notion, affirm that Men were ſo far from ever being in a ſtate of Equality or Freedom, that they were Born Slaves by their Fathers having an Abſolute Dominion over their Lives.

E: Contr. And removing the Invidious Word Slaves the Abetters of Arbitrary Power are ſo far in the right on't, for Men are not Naturally ſet upon the Level, with each other, but produced with ſuch Fundamental Marks of Diſtinction upon them, ſuch Inequalities and Dependencies, not only in reſpect to Age, and Sex, but with ſuch unequal Powers in the ſame Age, as lays at leaſt the Foundations of Government, and caſts them of it ſelf into a Political Form, by Degrees of Inferiority and Superiority, without running to Original Contracts, which if any ſuch can be ſuppoſed, can at moſt be but ſuppoſed to be Confirmations of thoſe Prior Diſparities which Nature had already made, and the conſequence of thoſe Natural Advantages attended to, which gave a juſt Title to ſome to direct, and be above others. If Men were Naturally Equal as he ſuppoſes, and none had Naturally more Power over another then another had over him, 'tis impoſſible they ſhould ever have come to any Reſolution concerning Government, or a-

greed upon Governors, tho' we ſuppoſe them brought to Party and Conſult about it by the inconveniencies of diſſociable Co-ordination of Power, for that they ſhould Pitch upon one Man rather than another, can be attributed only to ſome Eminencies, which muſt make them ſenſible it was Reaſonable and Fit for him rather than another to Command, and them to Obey him. And that any ſhould ſubmit to be undermoſt, can't be accounted for, but from a Conſciouſneſs of thoſe that gave up ſo much more than the reſt, and yielded to the otherways unequal Terms, that they were under ſuch Diſadvantages, as made it their Poſt, and all that can be ſuppoſed of an Original Contract can be no more than Mens following the Tracts of Nature, and ratifying her Inequalities, by binding themſelves mutually to ſtand in Life as they found Nature Pointed, as ranging and diſpoſing them, to remedy the Confuſions which the Inſolencies of Bodily Strength and Youth, and the Irregularities of Paſſions, the Luſt of Power, the Pride of Self-Love had occaſioned, by ruining the proper diſtances between Man and Man, and running them too much into the Author's pretended Parity, and defacing her Diſtinctions.

By this Notion of Natural Equality, Government is made not to be according to Nature, and how probable is it? That Nature that ſo curiouſly digeſts every where her meaneſt Productions by regular Subordination

dination of Parts, in Bodies, ſhould be wanting in the moſt Noble and Conſiderable, and that Man whoſe Definition is that they are Sociable Creatures, inſtead of being fitted for Society, ſhould be ſo Unſociably ſent out, that they muſt put of their Natural Rights before they are capable of being form'd into it, and have that wherein the Beauty and Happineſs of their Race chiefly conſiſts, not Originally impreſt upon them, but left an after Work for Time and Inconveniencies to introduce, there is no Power but of God, and the Powers that be are ordained of God, St. *Paul* ſays, now to reſolve God's ordaining of Government into Common Providence only, or to ſay that God is the Author of Government ſimply, as he is the Author of every thing elſe, or to ſay God ordains Power as he protects and preſerves them mediately, or as he imprinted Originally in Man that Light by which he diſcovered the neceſſity of Government or as he approves it, or to ſay, God's Ordination means no more than that Government is a wiſe and reaſonable Diſpoſition, are certainly very frigid Expoſitions and anſwer not the double Emphatical Affirmation of Powers being from God, and Ordained of God, that can Signifie no leſs than an immediate and extraordinary Inſtitution and Eſtabliſhment, either by Poſitive Precept, or at leaſt by Natural Diſpoſition, and giving ſome a Natural Right of Dominion

minion over others, by Creating Diſparities; which Natural Diſpoſition appears in no other inſtance ſo clear, as in the Subordination of Children to Parents, and I ſee no other way how it can be made out that God is Author of Civil Government, that will ſo eaſily and properly anſwer the force of the Apoſtolick τεταγμέναι, as by conſidering it Natural, and no other way to make it Natural, but by conſidering it as the Parental Dominion inlarged, and ſpread with Improvements upon which 'tis Built, without which as it will not be eaſie to derive it from God any other way than permiſſively, as one may derive Confuſion it ſelf from him, ſo it will be no leſs eaſie to juſtifie it from being a Cheat upon the loweſt part, that is much the Majority of Mankind, who have departed from their Natural Rights of Equality, without a tolerable Equivalent, and who may reaſonably proteſt againſt the Original Contract, as a very foul and fooliſh Bargain of their Anceſtours, and could not long ſtand to it, were not the Roots of Submiſſion laid deeper and did not higher Influences than thoſe of imaginary Conſent by an Old Bargain, which hardly one in a Thouſand ever heard of, diſpoſe them from God and Nature to it.

Beſides 'tis a Scurvy Reflection both upon God's Goodneſs, and Wiſdom, to ſuppoſe him ſending Men into the World in a wild undigeſted

undigeſted State, or that they were one Moment from their Multiplication without orderly Deſignation of Poſt, into which they were to fall amongſt each other, or that he ſhould leave them ſo long an inform Crew, to ſeek for Methods of Sociable Communication, till like *Epicurus*'s Atome they ſhould a Number of them hit Right, and Jumble themſelves at laſt out of Confuſion.

Since it has pleas'd God to make us acquainted how our Race firſt began, how proceeded to become Numerous, the proper and the moſt probable Means to direct us in Inquiries after the true Nature and Original of Civil Government, is recourſe to that Hiſtory, which by no means favours the Modern Language of Natural Equality, being Born to abſolute Freedom, Original Contracts, and the like.

If God had made at firſt a ſet and great Number of Men at once, Independant on each other, and every way Equal, as he probably would, if a Natural Equality of Mankind had pleas'd him, it would have lookt well on the ſide of Original Contracts; but that he that with the ſame Word could have Created Millions, ſhould only make one ſingle Perſon for Mankind to begin with, and be Propigated from; What other Conſtruction can be put upon it, but that he would not have Mankind ſtand in a Co-ordinate State to each other, but deſcend from each other by Degrees of Minority?

To

To this Man when we find a Woman added, we find it done in that way, and with thoſe circumſtances, that were induſtriouſly Choſen, and Recorded, to let us know, that that ſimple and firſt Human Pair was not without the Order of Higher and Lower, and Natural Precedency, for that ſhe was not Coæval to her Husband, deſigns by a Priority of Being on his ſide to ſet her Beneath him, and that ſhe was not made after the ſame manner, and with an Additional End expreſt to be an help-meet to Man, being made from the Man, and for the Man, are circumſtances St. *Paul* uſes as Arguments to prove a Natural Inequality of the Sexes, and that Man is the Head of the Woman; and this is the more obſervable, becauſe it was done in that State, wherein there was no occaſion of reſtraint of Liberty, or Submiſſion but what was Spontaneous, or fear of diſorder by Competition, but purely for the Beauty of Order, and Natural Propriety of Gradation.

And no ſooner therefore had they fallen from their Innocence, but a poſitive immination of Liberty, and a kind of Natural Servitude is thought neceſſary to be impoſed on the Woman, to cut off pretences of Competition and Equality, by a-he ſhall Rule over thee, *Gen.* 3. 16. and Subjection before Natural, is now made Penal, leaſt Nature grown Corrupt, ſhould either refractorily, or ignorantly, if left to its ſelf forget Subordination. As ſoon again as two

Children

Children are Born to theſe, leaſt Priority of Birth ſhould not diſtinguiſh them enough, but that the Parity of other Circumſtances might breed Competition a right of Primogoniture is ſettled, by which the one is ſet below the other, *Gen.* 4. 7. *Thou ſhalt Rule over him*, which *Grotius* makes to conſiſt in the Devolution of the Paternal Authority upon the Elder Brother in caſe of the Father's Abſence or Death, however it was by Divine Right a Conſtitution of Pre-eminence, and Prelation of the Elder before the Younger Brethren, which is confirmed by Numerous Paſſages of Scripture afterward.

Now if God made the Subjection of a Woman to a Man, and Submiſſion of one Brother to another to be by the Law of Nature, and Poſitive Law, where there are fair pretences to Equality, is it to be thought but that there is alſo an Inequality Naturally and Divinely ſetled between Parents and Children, where the Reaſons and Cauſes of Dominion are ſo much more juſt and ſtrong, of which in the next Section.

I ſhall only add here that no other Societies appear but Families thro' the Progreſs of many of the firſt Generations, where inſtead of ſuch a Common-Wealth, we meet with ſuch a ones Houſe, thus 'tis the Houſe of *Iſrael*, the Houſe of *Heber*, nor other Governments but Paternal, as a Footſtep of which it therefore runs through moſt Ancient

cient Languages, to call not only Kings Fathers, but Subjects Sons, the Children of *Iſrael*, *Lot*, *Edom*, and the υἱὲς ἀχαιῶν the Antiquity as well as Univerſality of which Phraſes ſhew them to have been more than Metaphorical, and that Kingdoms and Empires were but at firſt either the ſame thriving Families multiplied, or a Conflux of leſſer decaying ones into a great, forcing them to Unite under their Common Head.

Now why Men ſhould be called Slaves by their Fathers having a Dominion, tho' over their Lives, I know not, ſince under what ever Civil Government they live, as they muſt live under ſome, their Lives, and what is neceſſary to Support them, are ſtill ſubmitted to the Supreme Powers, that muſt be ſuppoſed Irreſiſtible, and truſted in their Hands; and ſince Men's lives muſt be truſted with ſome or other, where can they be more ſafely or reaſonably depoſited, than in the Hands of their Fathers, where by Natural Propenſions they are ſo well ſecured againſt all Foul Play. Nay this very thing very much Argues the Derivation of Civil Power from Paternal, becauſe it has a Power over Mens Lives, and becauſe it is agreed to be neceſſary to Society, that the Civil Magiſtrates ſhould inflict Capital Puniſhment, and have a right to put Men to Death, which right the Magiſtrate cannot come to by Original Conſent and Contract, not even according to the Authors own Hypotheſis, becauſe that ſame Law of Self-Perſervation, which gave

Men

Men their Right over other Mens Lives, which he ſuppoſes they made over to the Magiſtrate, forbad at the ſame time their conſenting to other Exerciſing that Right upon them, Men being incapable of conſenting to their own tho' juſt Deſtruction, ſo that this being every ſingle Man's exception, that they did not agree that the Magiſtrate ſhould Exerciſe this Power over Life upon themſelves, revok't together with a Grant the pretended conveyance over Life, becauſe every one being excepted none conſented, nor has the Magiſtrate that Power by poſitive Inſtitution from God's Word, for what is mentioned in the Goſpel of his bearing the Sword, and being an Avenger to Execute Wrath, does indeed juſtify the Magiſtrate, and ſhew the Lawfulneſs of the Power of Government over Mens Lives, but it is not an Inſtitution of it, but an Owning and Declaration, to confirm it before Practiced, and juſtify Chriſtians Proceeding in the old way; nor does the Appointment of Capital Puniſhment by the Law of *Moſes*, look like veſting the Magiſtrate with a Power then Commencing and fore unknown, but ſuppoſes it a well known and unqueſtioned Right, of which it only Directs the Exerciſe, and therefore the Civil Government's Power over Mens Lives being neither Originally from mutual conſent, nor Divine poſitive Inſtitution, muſt be from the Law of Nature, and if from the Law of Nature, the Father only has any Pretence

tence to it, as a Derivation from whom the Civil Government enjoyes it, coming to it by the right of Father-hood, in whoſe Place it ſtands and to whoſe Right it ſucceeds.

It may be affirmed that every Father has at this Day a Natural Power over the Life of his Child, which the Arbitrary Inflictions of leſſer Corporeal Puniſhments is ſome remains of, and that that Power cannot extend it ſelf to Life and Death, is not from want of the *Inherent jus*, but as 'tis ſuperſeeded in Particular and Inferior Fathers, by the Common and Superior Right of Paternity in Civil Governours, to whom every Private Father ſtands in the ſame Capacities as his Child does to him, and as it is reſtrained and took of as to Exerciſe by the Command of God.

Auth. 5. A Father is ſo far from acquiring ſuch an Arbitrary Power over his Child, by being Inſtrumental in giving him Life, that he ſeems to be more reſtrain'd from Hurting him than any other, as being more bound to Support and Preſerve him: And there's nothing in the State of Nature that could give him a Power over the Life or Property of his Child (whom he is to conſider not as his own but the Almighties Workmanſhip) which wou'd not give him the ſame Power over any other, or any other, even his own Child the ſame over him, *&c.*

E. Contr.

E Contr. This Scandalous Section tends all to this Pious purpoſe, to prove that Naturally no Obedience is due from Children to their Parents, to which I need only oppoſe one Text of Scripture, *Col.* 3. 20. *Children Obey your Parents in all things.* Now it being agreed as he (ſays) that the Scripture neither adds nor takes from the Governors of Mankind any Power, it follows that Abſolute Obedience is without Divine Precept naturally due from Children to Parents, and an unanſwerable Dominion belonging to Parents, otherwiſe the Text by putting Children, as it does under an unlimitted Obedience, within the Law of God, does make ſuch a Breach upon the Liberties of Mankind as is agreed it does not, for the Children to whom the Precept belongs, the Author I ſuppoſe will allow to be ſuch as are come to the uſe of their Reaſon, and are in his full State of Natural Liberty, otherwiſe the Application to them would be vain.

Now this Arbitrary Power (if he will call it ſo) is acquired by a Father over his Children, and this Obedience due from Children to him , by the Father's being Inſtrumental in giving them Life, together with Enutrition and Education, upon which account Parents with reſpect to their Children bear in a peculiar manner the Image of God: Whom Parents reſemble as he is Creator, Suſtainer, Conſervator, all which

in a lower degree they are to their Children, which together with Love, Reſpect, Honour, Gratitude, which the Author makes the utmoſt of filial Duty, Challenge alſo a Subjection and Obedience like to that due to God, and next to it in Degree, from which they are never free, but by the expreſs or tacit Conſent of the Father leaving them to themſelves, and not inſiſting any longer upon his Natural Prerogative, or as their being conſtituted in ſome Civil Station, Equal or Superior to that of their Father, to which the Right of private Paternity is Subordinate, has put them in *tantum* out of his Power.

Being and Life with it are ſo great Natural Goods that are beyond all Requital, a Debt that never can be Satisfied, and therefore after all the Returns which the Creature, to whom they are given, is capable of making to him that gave them, there is ſtill a vaſt Overplus behind Unpaid, from which ariſes a Title in Juſtice, to ſome intereſt to diſpoſe of the Party himſelf, as to a Creditor from an inſolvent Debtor; and God Almighty taking Parents into a Co-Partnerſhip with himſelf, in the conveyance of theſe unvaluable Goods to Children, has made them Joynt-Creditors with himſelf, for ſo much as nothing but obliging to them the ſame Life and Being, as in Mortgage for it, and making themſelves over to their Diſpoſal can anſwer till Remitted. And

And the reſtraint upon Parents more than others from Hurting their Children, which he would make an Argument againſt the Natural Dominion of Parents over them, is indeed a great one for it, being plainly proviſional in Nature, to ſecure Paternal Government, from degenerating into Tyranny, for to what purpoſe ſhould Nature put more reſtraints upon Parents from injuring the Lives of their Children, but becauſe ſhe had put them more in their Power, to ſoften and ſweeten the Dominion by Reciprocal Inclinations of Love.

Auth. 6. Beſides if the Government of the whole Earth was given to *Adam* firſt, and after to the Eldeſt Son of the Eldeſt Branch, as the makers of this Hypotheſis aſſert; this muſt not only deſtroy the Sovereign Power of Parents, but ſhow that whatever Proviſional Governments are made by Mankind till this Univerſal Heir be found out, muſt be owing to the Conſent of Men Equal among themſelves.

E. Contr. That the Government of the whole Earth was given to *Adam* is certain beyond putting it to an if. *Gen.* 1. 28. his Commiſſion ran to ſubdue and have Dominion over every thing that moved upon the Earth, his Children coming within the Generality of thoſe words, and purſuant to this Commiſſion, that *Adam* had Dominion over every Member of his nume-

rous Family whilſt they continued one Community, without Articling with him, is no leſs certain, and was ſo long at leaſt Univerſal Monarch, and that by the ſame Pattern his Sons and Poſterity under him Gradually ſhou'd injoy and exerciſe the Right of Paternal Dominion over their ſeveral direct Iſſues in Subordination to him as common Parent in Chief, there is no reaſon to doubt: But then as any of his Sons or theirs might go off as Colonies thro' Inconvenience of Multitude, or invited by proſpect of diſtant Countrys, and ſo by Incommunicable diſtance be utterly broke off from all Correſpondence and Dependence on his Government, 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe that then by their Father's Conſent they were left abſolute Maſters of themſelves, and that the ſeveral Fathers of theſe Demigratours muſt be as ſo many *Adams* in their Families and Societies, independently growing up, and from theſe, others might be in like manner again Propagated, and thus even in *Adam*'s lifetime 900 Years and upward, wherein he might ſee his Poſterity to the Fortyeth Generation, there might be many Domeſtick Societies, the Republicks of thoſe days, from whom to *Adam* himſelf and much more to his Heirs afterwards by long Ceſſation of intercourſe, all Senſe and Right of Subjection, if not formerly thrown up to their Founders muſt of Courſe be Extinguiſht, and ſo many Independent Communities

munities the Seeds of future Kingdoms in following Centuries muſt ariſe, for as often as Children were ſent off from the Principle Branch by their Fathers in Chief, and put in a State of Oeconomical Seperation from the Family, ſo often they became as Original Fathers of Nations and Families beginning from them, and owing no Subjection beyond them, as Branches divided from their Trees become themſelves new Originals of Production, beyond whoſe Roots and no farther back whatever ſhoots from them is not reckon'd to have Relation, which we find a frequent caſe after the Flood with the Concubinal Offſpring, who as Sons of Fortune ſent off to provide for themſelves, are forthwith Recorded Fathers of this and that Nation, independent on their Fathers, and without all notice of Subjection farther owing, which no way Prejudices, but rather Confirms, the Right of Paternal Dominion.

But ſuppoſing it were true that the Eldeſt Son of the Eldeſt Branch of *Adam*'s Family only had a right of Univerſal Dominion over Mankind, this no way makes the proviſional Governments of Mankind either owing to conſent or unlawfull, or hurts the Right of Princes, becauſe till this Univerſal Monarch is found out, which is impoſſible, each having as fair a Title to be preſum'd the Perſon as another, is left in poſſeſſion till his Title can be diſproved and a fairer made out.

Auth. 7. In a word, if People owe the ſame Duty to their Parents ſince, as they did before Political Government was Erected, as there's nothing from Reaſon or Scripture to the contrary, the Power of a Father over his Children was always the ſame; and every one muſt ſee the difference between Political and Paternal Power, *&c.*

E. Contr. The Power of a Father over his Children was always the ſame, but to talk of before Political Government was Erected and ſince is Nonſence, becauſe Political Government is but the Paternal Modified variouſly, and legally Stated and ſet out.

Paternal Government being diſtinguiſht into Political and Oeconomical.

Auth. ib. The moſt Abſolute Prince owes the ſame Duty to his Father tho' his Subject, as a Private Perſon does to his, tho' a Sovereign.

E. Contr. The moſt Abſolute Prince owes the ſame Duty to his Father tho' his Subject, that's due from any Child to a Father that has a Superior Father above him, to whom he is Subject, which Right of Superior Father-hood the Son being Politically veſted withall, makes Obedience the Father's Province, in all thoſe things where the

the Son Acts as a Political Perſon, but not otherwiſe, which is not Changing Paternal Power or Filial Duty but preſerving them.

And where the Father and Sovereign meet in one Perſon there Children lay under double Obligations of Obedience, as the Commands of a Granfather Seconded by thoſe of a Father make an Increaſe of Authority and Diſobedience more inexcuſable.

Auth. 8. If then Men are Naturally free with no Power over one another, except what's Reciprocal, they cannot looſe this Equality without their own Conſent, in forming themſelves into Bodies Politick.

E Contr. If Equality be a Good why ſhould Men looſe it at all? And not rather preſerve it ſtill, if it be not a Good but Natural Inconvenience why does he trouble himſelf to inſiſt upon it? And charge Nature both with Folly and Unkindneſs in producing Men in ſuch Ill-contrived Circumſtances that they cannot Live together in.

Auth. ib. Which could no otherwiſe be done than by agreeing to be Determined by a Majority

E. Contr. They agreed then it ſeems to be Determin'd by a Majority, but by

what were they Determined in that Agreement to be ſo Determin'd.

Or what need of that Agreement ſince the greater Number, he ſays, having the greater Force, muſt without Agreements make the reſt move as they pleas'd, it muſt be either by Conſent or by the Law of Nature that Men muſt come firſt to be Determin'd by a Majority by Conſent, as I before ſaid it could not be unleſs by ſuch a Conſent to a Man, as is not eaſie to Imagine, for without ſuch a Conſent Majority could not Eſtabliſh it ſelf for the Guide of Societies, nor be before it was agreed on, and if 'tis from the Law of Nature that Men are Determin'd by a Majority, and the Major part have a Natural Right to Command a Minor; this is ſetting a greater Natural In-equality than that of Individuals, if one half of Men muſt without, or contrary to their own Conſent, go as the other wou'd have them, for this is making Men Slaves by Wholeſale if Natural Subjection be ſo.

Auth. ib. And conſequently all Power, by the expreſs or tacit Conſent of the Parties concern'd muſt be at firſt lodg'd in the Majority, who may, where the greatneſs of the Number does not hinder, keep it in their own Hands, or elſe intruſt it with whom they think fit; who, as their Repreſentatives, are to be Obey'd as long as they Act agreeably to the end for

for which they were Conſtituted; but when they Act contrary to it, of which they, who deputed 'em, muſt needs have a Right to Judge, the Power Naturally returns to the Body of the People.

E. Contr. Well, our Author has at laſt, with much a do, fixt all Power where he would have it, in the Majority, *Alias*, the Mobility, his next care is now what his Majority ſhall do with it, when they have it, and how they muſt diſpoſe of it, for keep it they cannot, and muſt not themſelves he ſays, unleſs they are few Enow, which they will hardly be if they are above Two in Number, for being few Enow they may Manage it themſelves, and be all Governors of one another.

But if they are to many for this, what muſt they do with it then? Why, they muſt Intruſt it with Governors who muſt be call'd Repreſentatives, to tell us that Parliaments were before the Flood, who muſt be deſired to take care of their Power and Them, and Manage both for Them, which Repreſentatives, their Lords, the Majority muſt ſo long Obey only as they Act agreeably to the end for which they were Conſtituted, for if they Act contrary, the Power Naturally returns to the Body again; ſo that 'tis not poſſible for Governors to abuſe Power, ſince once ill uſed, it ſlips from them to 'its Old Maſters, who cannot keep it longer neither than

than to ſerve a Turn! But who are to Judge whether the Repreſentatives Act contrary to the end for which they were Conſtituted? Why, the Majority again muſt Judge, becauſe their Power they gave their Repreſentatives is come back to them, otherwiſe they cou'd not part with their Power of Judging and have it too. But what method of proceeding is there to Prove their Repreſentatives Guilty? Why, this is left toPopular Clamour and Out-cry, which if allow'd ſufficient Evidence to Convict and Condemn Governors, then ſeveral ſets of Repreſenttatives will not only not laſt his Community long, but one part of the ſame Jury will Hang up the other ſo faſt as will ſoon bring his Majority down to be ſo few, that they may keep their Government in their own Hands. But pray Good Maſter Aſſerter, ſince Government is abſolutely Neceſſary for Mankind, what need of all this ado to no purpoſe to bring it in by Equalities, Compacts, Majorities, Truſts, with Intricate Reſerves and Revolutions of Power, Backward and Forward, and going ſo far about with much difficulty, and lyableneſs to Exception? When a ſhort and compendious way lies Plain and Eaſie to do the whole Work at once, by Mens aſcribing this Divine Bleſſing of Order amongſt us to Natural Subordination of Perſons by our Creator, which Reaſon and Experience has farther Cultivated and Artificially Improved.

Auth. 9.

Auth. 9. As Government at Firſt was Founded on the Conſent of the Parties concern'd, ſo it ſtill continues on the ſame Foot.

E. Contr. As Government at Firſt was not Founded on the Conſent of the Parties concern'd, but on the Natural Right of Subordination of Father to Son, ſo it ſtill continues on the ſame Foot, the Conſent of of Parties is indeed *de facto* Neceſſary, becauſe the Governed being ſo many more than the Governors, could not be Commanded unleſs they pleas'd. But then that conſent is their Duty, and they are Obliged to yield to it.

Auth. 10. Why People ſhou'd not have taken this way to come out of the State of Nature at firſt, as they have done ever ſince, there can be no manner of Reaſon.

E. Contr. That Men in the State of Government and orderly Subordination to each other are out of the State of Nature, and that in the State of Wild Confuſion and Diſſipation they are in it, ought to be proved as well as ſaid. If Men are ever in the State of Nature 'tis certainly when they are Born, but they are Born in a ſtate of intire Subjection, and abſolute Dependence, for to ſay they are Born out of the State of Nature,

Nature, and come into it by degrees about One and Twenty, when they only ſtep into it, whilſt they have time to Conſent to Government to get out of it again, is as Prepoſterous as Ridiculous: But Men having wander'd from the ſtate of Nature, and ran themſelves into a ſtate of Confuſion, and Unnatural Equality, without Head or Tail, and having loſt the knowledge of their Natural Heads, and how they ought to ſtand in Order under them, having Blinded themſelves ſo amongſt each other, may Conſent to reduce themſelves back again as well and faſt as they can from their Perplexities toward the State they found themſelves fallen from, and agree on all proper Precautions to that end, to prevent Them or their Proſterity falling for the future into the like again: Subſtituting ſuch Artificial Putative Fathers inſtead of their Natural, whom they have loſt the knowledge of, under whom they may ſtand in Life with ſuch Regulations of Subjection as are agreeable to the Pattern of a great Family, and who by coming neareſt to, and beſt reſembling thoſe Natural Idea's Men have of Fathers, may ſhew that Paternal Government is what they drive and wou'd be at, which they are willing, as far as poſſible, to reſtore to that Natural Channel again, in which they even unwittingly diſcover a Natural apprehenſion it ſhould run, by generally preferring to others for their Governors, thoſe the Antiquity

quity of whoſe Families ſeem to beſpeak them to be the likelieſt to have a Title to Natural Paternal Superiority, for why Men ſhould Submit themſelves rather to thoſe of Ancient Race than others, and why length of Pedigree ſhould in all Nations give an allow'd Preheminency, ſeems to flow from the thought of their being the Probableſt Perſons to be of thoſe Commanding Branches that Nature deſign'd for Government, and all that Princes gain by Running their Pedigrees ſo far back towards *Adam*, is the Increaſe of that Suſpicion.

Auth. 11. Beſides, they who make this Objection, in owning that Kingly Government taken in the moſt abſolute Senſe is only from God, do in effect acknowledge that all other Governments are owing to Compact and Agreement, tho' at the ſame time they affirm, that no Government cou'd be form'd by that Method.

E. Contr. There is indeed no other Government but a Monarchichal, for tho' the Supreme Power be not one by Nature, yet it muſt be ſuppoſed one, and made ſo by Inſtitution, before 'its capable of Governing, and *Ariſtocracies* and *Democracies* are only corrupted and degenerated Monarchies, that are run off from their Natural Simplicity, by an Artifice of imagining ſeveral Perſons to be one which are not ſo, for that which Commands can be but one, and when Men have deviſed

viſed and compacted their utmoſt, form'd and reform'd, chopt and chang'd all they can in Government, it muſt at Laſt be Monarchy diſguiſed, and exchanging a Real and Perſonal for a Politick and Fancy'd Unity to Command. In doing of which, ſince Unity is Eſſential to the Supreme Power, the farther they go into a Poſſiblity of that which Rules flying into Multiplicity, or being divided, the farther they run from God and Nature.

Auth. 12. The only Right a Conqueror has, is built on the Conſent of thoſe, who by their former Governors being no longer able to Protect 'em, were reduc'd to a ſtate of Nature, Conſequently at liberty to pay Obedience to the Conqueror upon his taking 'em into Protection.

E. Contr. The Right of a Conqueror is Irreſiſtable Force, and the Conquer'd pay Obedience to him becauſe they cannot help it, and if the ſtate of Nature be a ſtate of Perfect Slavery, then by being Conquer'd, Men are reduc'd to that ſtate, and to ſuppoſe Men Conquer'd, and at Liberty ſtill to Capitulate and Pay Obedience where they Pleaſe, is certainly an extraordinary Conceit, or that the Conqueror ſhould ask their conſent to Rule them, but he is ſo full of his Notion of Conſent that nothing muſt be done without it, and Men muſt not ſo much

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as be Beat without their Consent therefore first Obtain'd. Men Conquer'd are Prisoners of War, their Lives Forfeited to him that has Conquer'd them, who if he thinks fit not to take the Forfeiture, but allow the Redemption of them upon Terms, has a Right, because Incontroulable, to what degree of Obedience and Service he Pleases to impose, which thro' necessity they often Consent to, and will do since Life with the hardest Conditions is still Eligible; And thus indeed the Conqueror has no Title to the Obedience of the Conquer'd without their Consent, if they will not Live on the Terms he thinks fit to allow them.

Auth. 13. As 'tis Evident, that all those Nations of whose Origin we have any account, the Jews themselves, as I shall shew hereafter, not excepted, fram'd themselves into Bodies Politick by the Consent of the Parties concern'd: So 'tis as certain, that the Alterations which from time to time have been made in Government, were wholly Built on it; and Consequently, if all Governments were at first Fram'd after the same manner as they have been since Chang'd, none of them cou'd have any more Power than the People were capable of Trusting 'em with.

E. Contr. One, as he says, is as certain as the other, That Governments were Originally Fram'd, as since alter'd by Consent, and

and were it ſo, that the Alterations of Government were by Conſent, it were no Argument they were firſt fram'd ſo, for Alteration being from a diſlike of the preſent Circumſtances any thing is in, whether the diſlike be from Decay or Corruption; things uſe not to be mended by the ſame Methods they are firſt produc'd: or whether the diſlike be from faults in the Original Formation of them, it argues and rather implies a rejection of the firſt Method of Production, and the Author wou'd have done well to have given us half a Dozen Inſtances of Governments Alter'd by Conſent, ſince he is ſo well ſtor'd with 'em, for my part I know not what Hiſtory he has read, but I can't think of any Founded but either from Original Paternity, or by Conqueſt or Prevailing Force, not unlike it was the *Roman* Empire Founded by Conſent, or was *Cæſar's* Army the Majority of Mankind? Or, have any of the Governments into which 'tis broke been Founded otherwiſe than by a violent prevalency of Captains and great Men over greater peaceable Numbers? Was the *Turkiſh* Empire founded by Conſent, or ſo maintain'd by it? Any otherwiſe than every thing that's done in Nature may be ſaid to be done by Conſent, as Men may be ſaid to Diſagree and Kill each other by Conſent, to be Robbed by Conſent, becauſe they Conſent rather to give

give their Mony than their Lives, to be Sick and Dye by Conſent becauſe 'tis agreed by the Majority of their Friends that they really are very Sick and will Dye; but Conſent is the word, the Grand Principle into which he Reſolves every thing, and by which he Solves every thing, and he might as well have told us Conſent was every thing, or that the Will of Man is Incompellable, and therefore all that's done by Mankind is by Conſent.

Auth. 14. Men having no Power over their own Lives or Limbs, Government cou'd not flow from thence, but muſt be deriv'd from the Power they had over one another, Founded on the inherent Right they have of Preſerving themſelves, and Preferring their own good to that of others.

E Contr. Tho Men have not a full and intire Dominion over their own Lives, becauſe God has only committed the care and Preſervation of them to them, and reſerved the other Half of Dominion in his own Hands, ſo that they can't diſpoſe of them or throw them away at their own Pleaſure, yet ſtill they muſt be ſaid to have ſome Power over them, if for no other Reaſon, yet for this, becauſe they are their own Lives, for Propriety is Inſeparable from Dominion in ſome Degree, and over their Limbs Men have a full Power, ſo far as is conſiſt-

ent with Life; for therefore if thy Eye Offend thee Pluck it out, if thy Hand, Cut it off; and a Man may part with an Arm or Leg at Diſcretion if he find it conducible to the Good of the whole, and all that ſort of Power that we are here ſpeaking of, that Men cou'd have to give up, muſt be the Power they had over themſelves only; for Power over one-another Founded on the Inherent Right they have of Preſerving themſelves they had none, as we ſhall ſee, neither if they had, cou'd they according to his own Principles give it up.

Firſt, the Preſervation of ones ſelf gives Men no ſuch Right or equal Reciprocal Power over each other (becauſe ſuch a Reciprocal Right amounts to nothing, but Naturally deſtroys it ſelf, and is the ſame as to ſay Men have no Power at all over each other) ſince it can't act any more than if it were not, being like equal Weights in different Scales, which is the ſame as if they were empty & *inter Pares nulla Poteſtas* is a known Maxim.

Beſides, if Men had ſuch Reciprocal Power over each other, it was not in their Power, by his own Principles, to conſent to give it up from themſelves, or intruſt it in others Hands than their own, becauſe it being founded on the Right they have of Preſerving their own Lives, and neceſſary for that purpoſe, by giving up to any

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that Right they had over others Lives, they Conſequently gave up a Power over their own, both Lives and Limbs, and by that means diſpoſed of what he ſays they had no Power of: Nor can I apprehend how a Power over each other ſhou'd flow from the Right of Self-preſervation, or how contribute to that end, Nature muſt give it for: The Author will grant the Right of Self-preſervation was not only given with Reſpect to Individuals, but for the Common good of the whole Species, nor can it be the end of Self-preſervation to preſerve one Life by deſtroying another: Particulars may gain by ſuch a Self-preſervations advantages over each other, but the Body of Mankind in general is no gainer at all, and Nature by ſuch a Proviſion has added no more Security to Humane Race, than if they had no ſuch Right, which is an Exchange of Lives only, but not the Preſervation of any; for as Lives are equally valuable naturally, ; ſo if I, to ſave my own Life, take away anothers, Mankind has got nothing by it, nor has Nature leſſen'd the damage by giving me a Right to Kill another, any more than if he without ſuch Right on my Side had Kill'd me: But Self-Preſervation being deſigned for the Preſervation of Mankind by preventing not the particular but abſolute loſs of Lives, againſt other Aſſailants but Men, gives a Man a Right to preſerve his

Life by taking away that which indangers it: But between Man and Man it does not ſo, becauſe Nature by ſuch a Law does Mankind no good, no way Preventing but rather Aſcertaining the loſs of Lives by giving Men a pretence too frequently Practiſed under the Colour of the Right of Self-preſervation, to ſecure their Lives before they were in Danger, by taking away that of another.

All the Power that the Right of Self-preſervation allows Man againſt Man, being Caution and Prudence, and ſuch a repelling of Violence as is defenſive, and preventive, which if 'tis done by taking away the Life of another (which never ought directly to be deſign'd) the end and deſign of Self-preſervation is fruſtrated, and the Law broken; the loſs of Life intended to be prevented, is ſuſtained, and a Member of Mankind as much loſt, by the Preſervative, as wou'd have been without it.

Humane Life is ſubject only to God, who if he have not given Men a Power over their own Lives, can much leſs be ſuppoſed to give it them over that of others; and 'tis breaking in upon God's Prerogative to aſſume that Power without producing his Commiſſion, who, leaſt the Lives of Men ſhou'd be expoſed, and the common Natural Right of Self-preſervation prove inſufficent to ſecure Mens Lives againſt the unjuſt Invaſions of each other, together with Natural

tural Affections, leading to mutual Kindneſs and abhorring from Blood, and poſitive Precepts backing thoſe Affections, has by Special Commiſſion granted originally to Fathers, and Confirm'd to the preſent Magiſtracy of Mankind ſucceeding to their Rights, as his Repreſentatives, who' 'is the Lord of Life, in his ſtead to exerciſe Dominion over Life alſo; and ſecure order in Societies, where nothing elſe will do, at the expence of ſuch Lives, from which Men are either in danger of ſuffering more than the Loſs amounts to, as well as to do Juſtice by a Parity of Reſtitution: But this Power over Life is not exerciſed as a natural Right intruſted, as the Author wou'd have it, who makes every Man his own Judge and Executioner to puniſh others, but by a Deputation from God extraordinary, and not common to all.

Auth. 15. God by implanting in Man that only innate and inſeparable Principle of ſeeking his own Happineſs, and endeavouring to ſubſiſt as conveniently as his Nature permits, has given him a Right, or rather has made it his Duty, to do all that's neceſſary to that end; which includes a Right not only of ſeeking Reparation for any Injury done to himſelf, but of puniſhing the Perſon who did it, in order to prevent the like for the Future.

E Contr. Tho' the Author induſtriouſly abſtains from the word Revenge here, yet his Doctrine is plainly and directly this, Dearly Beloved Avenge your ſelves, for Vengeance is yours, ſay I; for this is your Duty and Natural Right, by the Law of Self-preſervation: If a Man affront you, knock him down; if he wou'd Injure you, Murder him, and I only therefore ſhall ſet againſt the Author's Doctrine, that of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 12. 19. *Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it, ſaith the Lord*; in which words Firſt 'tis expreſly declared againſt the Author, that Vengeance is a Reſerv'd Right properly belonging to God, and to thoſe only whom he declares Commiſſion'd by him, and conſequently all Men have not a Natural Right to it, for inſtead of implanting it in Man, God orders the Rooting of it up out of him; nor is it therefore included in the Right of Self-preſervation, to which if it belong, he that gave Man a Right to preſerve himſelf, wou'd not have deny'd it him: Nor can it tend to promote Mens convenient Subſiſtence, for he Blaſphemes the Goodneſs of God, that inſinuates that God either Commands Men any thing but what is naturally good, and proper for them, or forbids them any thing but what as naturally tends to their Damage, and Inconvenience. Nay the very Principle of Self-preſervation which the Auth or

Author would have the Natural Right of Mens doing themſelves Juſtice by Revenging Injuries, a Conſequence from, or the Grounds of that Principle, which are Self-Love, and preferring ones own good to that of others, make Men incapable of ſuch a Natural Right becauſe they are naturally Partial and no fit Judges therefore in their own Cauſe: Had he ſaid every Man has a Right to have Juſtice done him, he had ſaid true; but to give a Man himſelf the Right of doing it, who together with innate Prejudice on his own ſide, has ſo much naturally corrupt Paſſion and Perturbation where he is concern'd, is inſtead of a Privilege giving, Men a Right of being perpetually Vexatious to each other, and Puniſhing Imaginary Wrongs with Real ones, backward and forward till they deſtroy each other inſtead of Preſerving themſelves: And if Man have not a natural Right to do themſelves Juſtice, neither have they any to chuſe their own Judge, or appoint ſuch Common Umpire as he makes the Magiſtrate, which comes to the ſame thing. God by declaring Vengeance his, tells Men they never had any Right that way, and deſtroys that Notion, and ſhews they had nothing to do to agree among themſelves either by whom, or what Methods they wou'd have the Injuries offer'd them, redreſt, but muſt ſtand to thoſe not themſelves ſhou'd chuſe, but which he had appointed for them to have recourſe

to orginally by Natural Right of Superiorty, and to the Supplemental Fathers Magiſtrates their Succeſſors, to whom by poſitive Inſtitution he has Reconfirm'd the Patent.

What Men do when the Danger is too ſudden to have recourſe to the Magiſtrate, they not being Aggreſſors, the part they Act is wholly Deciſive, and can't be call'd ſeeking Reparation, whatever is Offenſively neceſſary being accidental and grounded upon a Defenſive Intention.

Auth. 16. The State of Nature is much wider than is generally imagin'd, ſince not only whole Nations with reſpect to one another are ſtill in it, and every one in the ſame Society when the Danger is too ſudden to have recourſe to the Magiſtrate; but all Men are born in it, and always continue to be ſo in all ſuch things as they may practiſe without injuring one another.

E Contr. What a ſtrange wild and unintelligible State does he make of this State of Nature, in which he has ſo bewilder'd himſelf, and as that no Man alive can tell by his account when he is in it, and when he is out of it; ſo intermixt is it with other States, that every Step a Man makes, may put him alternately into it and out of it again, ſometimes he

he is both in and out, ſometimes neither in it nor out of it, at leaſt he can't tell whether, and ſometimes he is half in and half out; here now as if he had juſt made ſome new Diſcovery of 'its Territoies, we are told 'tis much wider than generally imagin'd; nay, ſo wide that 'tis hard to get out of it, there being but one way for it, and that's only by the Political Union which Men ingage in for defence of themſelves, and Properties; and when they Oblige themſelves to aſſiſt the Magiſtrate in Puniſhing all ſuch Injuries as the good of the whole will not Permit to go unpuniſh'd: And yet every one in the ſame Society is out of it; but when the danger is too ſudden to have recourſe to the Magiſtrate, and then every one is in it, here all Men are born to it, before they came not to have all the Liberties of it till they have the perfect uſe of Reaſon, nay all Men forſooth always continue in it, in all things they do without injuring one another, but if they do any Body any harm, then are preſently out of it.

Auth. 16. The next thing to be inquired into, is what Power this gives the Magiſtrate in matters of Religion? And here none can doubt that he is fully Authoriz'd *&c.*

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People, but immediately from God, by Divine both Natural and poſitive Inſtitution; by Natural Inſtitution as the Magiſtrate has lodg'd in him all the Right of Paternal Dominion; by Poſitive, as that Right is confirm'd to him by God's word; for the Magiſtrate is truly as he is Stil'd in our Laws, *Perſona Mixta*, becauſe Fathers Originally had together with civil Dominion, the Prieſthood and Power of Religion in Conjunction annext, and their Title to it was very good 'tis certain, becauſe it had God's Approbation, being exerciſed by his unqueſtion'd Favourites, ſuch as *Noah*, *Melchizedeck*, *Abraham*, *Job*, &c.

Indeed the Connection between Civil and Religious Government, and the mutual Influences they have on each other, makes Power in Religion in ſome degree neceſſary for the Civil Magiſtrate.

And the Right of Natural Superiority, as it was of it ſelf enough to throw off courſe from Children upon Fathers, the Prieſthood with every other Office of Veneration and Dignity, ſo Fathers on the other hand, muſt find it naturally left a Duty incumbent on them, to lead the way to their Children in the Worſhip of God, and to preſcribe and inſtruct their Families in the Order and Method of it. But beſides this Natural Deſignation of Fathers to Religious Power and Adminiſtration, it had an acceſſional Poſitive Authoritative Eſtabliſhment, if not Originally from the Creation,

Creation, yet from *Adam*'s Fall, by ſome expreſs Divine Precept, Traditionally well known, as *Grotius* ſuppoſes, in the firſt Ages, which made the Union of the Regal and Prieſtly Power, in the Chief Fathers of Families, the Common-Wealths of thoſe Days, ſo Sacred and Univerſal a Cuſtom as it was, which is a very Reaſonable Thought, if we conſider that God always had a Church from the beginning of the World, that the Worſhip of God and Glorifying him in Religion, is the end of Man's Creation, we muſt think the aſcertaining of that Worſhip, and committing the Direction and Management of it to ſome as its proper Officers and Superintendents was ſo neceſſary, as very well to merit the Solemnity of a diſtinct poſitive Donation of it from God, and that Fathers of Families ſucceſſively were the Perſons appointed and delegated tō this Charge, is more the probable, ſince we find the Prieſthood, almoſt from the Creation, together with civil Dominion and the other Rights of Primogeniture deſcending to the Firſt Born, as by well known Entail; but ſo deſcending as to be ſubject to Forfeiture by Impiety, as in the Caſe of *Cain*, and ſeveral others after him, put by; or Alienation by Contract, as in *Eſau*, whoſe Prophaneneſs is agreed conſiſted in ſelling together with his other Rights of Primogeniture, his well known Right of the Prieſthood, Annext to his Birth.

As

As thus deriving the Power we agree to belong to Magiſtrates in Religion and their Eccleſiaſtic Supremacy from their Title to the Original Royal Prieſthood, by their ſucceeding to the Rights of Fatherhood, makes them out a fair and Honourable Title, which is no other way ſo clear, ſo it alſo opens the way to ſtate the Limits of their Religious Power, and diſcover the Bounds between them and the Goſpel Prieſthood, better than all the leſs proper Terms of Diſtinction generally us'd to that purpoſe; for hence it does appear that Princes have really a Religious Character, and are ſtrictly and properly Eccleſiaſtical Magiſtrates, as well as Civil, nay a Sacerdotal Character, and that they are to be conſider'd as Perſons rather ſuſpended by God Almighty by reveal'd Religion *ab Officio*, than that their Prieſtly Right is utterly Aboliſhed, and thoſe Terms of Diſtinction therefore us'd to Diſcriminate the Juriſdiction of the Magiſtrate and his Power, from thoſe of the Sacerdotal Officers of the Law and Goſpel, with reſpect to their ends, Object, Matter, and different manner of Exerciſe of Power, neither ſufficiently eſtabliſh a Title, nor are apt to make us juſtly diſcern their ſeveral Limits; ſuch as that the one is Temporal and the other Spiritual, for that the Magiſtrates Power is alſo in ſome degree Spiritual, Eccleſiaſtical, and Civil, ſince the

Magiſtrates

Magiſtrates is alſo Eccleſiaſtical, and what is moſt Sacred and Prophane, for the Magiſtrate's, tho' not wholly and equally as the others, muſt, be allow'd Sacred as well as his Perſon, nor are they better diſtinguiſh'd by their ends that the one is to conduct Men to Happineſs in this Life, and the other in the next; for without being injurious to the Magiſtrate, the future as well as the preſent Happineſ sof Men can't be denied to be the Object of his care; nor does diſtinguiſhing the different manner of exerciſing their Powers give us a more direct Notion of them, that the one is Co-active, the other directive; for having the ſame Common end what was thought neceſſary for the one there is no Reaſon to ſuppoſe the other to be quite without. And if the one has the Sword the other has the Rod, the Enſign of ſome, tho' Bloodleſs and not Capital Co-action. And indeed God's Original conjoyning the Prieſtly with the Civil Power in the ſame hands, ſhews that an Eccleſiaſtical Magiſtrate ought to be furniſht upon occaſion with ſomething more ſtrenuous than perſuaſion: Neither do they differ in that, the one's Power is immediately, and the other mediately from God, ſince as has been obſerv'd the Magiſtrate's Eccleſiaſtical Authority is probably no leſs than the Miniſters of reveal'd Religion by poſitive Donation alſo from him, being not

not ſo much different Powers, as different parts of the ſame Power.

It muſt be confeſt, that put in compariſon the Magiſtratick Branch is the more ancient, comprehenſive, the more excellent, being as the Architectonick ſolely and irreſiſtibly Supreme, tho the other wants not its peculiar Advantages of Eminence and Dignity, as being the immediate Inſtrument of more ſupernatural Bleſſings, and like the Common Domeſticks of their Maſter, have a nearer and more familiar admiſſion into the preſence in Religious Intercourſes, and Acts of Publick Worſhip, tho' the other are the greateſt Officers of State.

Thus therefore the Magiſtrate comes by his Religious Power, the ſupreme care of Religion, both as to direction and Exerciſe of it in their proper Perſons if they pleaſed, was made by God Almighty a part of the Patriarchal Dignity, and one of the Rights of Fatherhood. The Civil Power is derived from that Patriarchal Dignity, and inherits thoſe Fatherly Rights, and amongſt them conſequently the Supreme Adminiſtration of Religious matters. And this Notion is alſo ſerviceable to point to us the Limits of the two Religious Powers, the Magiſtratical and Miniſterial.

Whatever is of Natural Religion, tho' took into poſitive and made part of it, under which Notion are comprehended all Vertues and Vices, and the whole Body of Morality

rality, together with the Grounds of Religion, the Belief of a God, and Providence, and that a Worſhip is due to him, are the Subject of the Magiſtrate's Supreme care, and particularly to Adminiſter whatever in reveal'd Religion is not by being otherwiſe order'd, took out of his Hands, with an Univerſal Supremacy over all Orders, to Command and direct the Exerciſe even of thoſe Functions with the Perſons that have them in Subordination, which are not derived from 'em, nor depend on 'em; and to which God has made them in their proper Spheres Reciprocally ſubject. For my part I can't ſee what ſhould hinder, but Men may have from God the direction of thoſe Powers and Government of 'em as to Exerciſe, which may act back upon themſelves in a Superior and Commanding manner, nor apprehend why that ſhou'd be ſo impoſſible in things moral that is ſo uſual in things Phyſical and Mechanical, and why not in voluntary as well as other Agents the direction of thoſe Motions and Vertues may not be foreignly lodg'd and ſubmitted to others, who are notwithſtanding no leſs Subject to their Force and activity at the ſame time themſelves. But of this hereafter,

'Tis evident then when the Corruption of Natural Religion had made a reveal'd Syſtem of Worſhip neceſſary, which was firſt the *Jewiſh*, by *Moſes*, that tho God did not revoke formally his Grant of the care and management of Religion which he had given to Fathes

thers or Civil Governors; yet the Nature of the reveal'd Conſtitution neceſſarily ſhorten'd their Religious Province, in both its Branches, Legiſlative and Judicial, God taking the former almoſt wholly to himſelf, leaving it no longer, as it had been before to them to preſcribe Methods of his Worſhip, by appointing one himſelf, with all its Circumſtances. And whereas before it was their Right if they thought fit in their own Perſons to do Sacred Offices, and celebrate the Myſteries of Religion, or aſſign that part to others who by Power deriv'd from them might ſupply their places, and do it in their ſtead, God by appointing an Order of Men particularly for that Work, took this intirely from them, making the Prieſtly Office a Branch of Eccleſiaſtical Polity ſeparate from theirs, conſiſting of Powers not derived from them, nor dependent on 'em, but immediately on him, and his Inſtitution, with ſeveral peculiar Rights of Jurisdiction, from which no Appeal lay to them, with the chief and immediate Charge to explain the Law, to determine Religious doubts, and controverſies, to preſide in the Tabernacle and Temple and over the Rights Ceremonies and Sacrifices; which of courſe took ſo much from the Magiſtrates Supremacy as was added to this Order.

But tho' God ſaw fit by interpoſing himſelf to take out of the Magiſtrates hands ſo much of their Religious work as they had probably moſt miſcarry'd in the faithful diſcharge

diſcharge of, and were become no Farther fit to be truſted withal, having run Mankind and themſelves ſo deep into the Superſtitions and Idolatries in which they were loſt by their Faulty diſcharge of their Sacerdotal care, or whether God, ſaw it neceſſary by dividing the Offices to disburden them of ſome part of their Duty, which while Common-wealths were but generally as larger Families, and the Government of 'em as it were Domeſtical, they were ſufficient for; but by the increaſe of their Cares with the increaſe of their Flocks was grown too much to be exactly attended, which the introduction of different Manners and Modes of Behaviour found neceſſary and becoming, each Character, it being not eaſie to ſuſtain by turns ſuch contrary Characters, and act ſuch different parts as one perſon being both Prieſt and King muſt put off and on; or if it were eaſie, it was not decent, having ſo much of theair of Levity and Inconſtancy, their Warlike occupations, and ſecular attendencies found Princes too much work, their pompous Luxury and State were ſuch Improprieties to a Sacerdotal Character, that of themſelves they had begun to relinquiſh it in other Nations as well as amongſt the *Jews*, where the poſitive Law of God made the Magiſtrate incapable, which Law yet ſtill left him a large remainder of his former Religious Power un-

touch't, even all that Right of Supremacy which we find accordingly exerciſed by the *Jewiſh* Kings and Magiſtrates, and which all other Kings at this day have an equal claim to, upon which our Church grounds the reaſon of her Doctrine of our Princes Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, becauſe it is that Prerogative which was always given to Godly Princes in Holy Scripture.

The Goſpel leaves the Religious Power of Magiſtrates in the very State the Law had reduc'd it to; for the caſe is the ſame, the Revelation of the Goſpel as of the Law has took out of Princes Hands the Power of Fundamental conſtitutive Legiſlation, tho not declarative, becauſe being more general and leſs circumſtantial than the Law, it has left a larger Scope of inferior Supplemental Legiſlature, and Chriſt appointing particular Orders of Men to Adminiſter Holy things, and diſpenſe and diſpoſe the Rites and Myſteries he has inſtituted, in like manner as the Levitick and Aaronick were before, is the ſame Bar kept on againſt their Perſonal medling with, and diſcharging the Prieſtly Offices; and as the Goſpel Miniſtry is every way more noble than the Legal Prieſthood, ſo its Immunities and Priviledges may be ſuppoſed greater, but cant well be leſs than theirs; for the Powers and Commiſſions of the Miniſters of the Goſpel muſt be ſo much more extraordinary, and have ſo much more in them as the Effects they are honour'd with, being the Inſtruments of producing

producing in their Functions, are more beyond their Natural Causes than ordinarily follow'd from any effects of the Mosaick Priesthood.

But otherwise the Gospel is tender of preserving the Religious Rights of Civil Governours, both positively attesting their Divine Original, and Recognizing their Supremacy by Subjecting every Soul the Seat of Religion to their Authority, and to them not only all persons are subject, but the Christian Religion in all its parts, where by Positive institution an exception is not made, and their Right superseded, by Christ's ordering it otherwise.

Auth. 17. If he can punish one who does an Injury to a single person, he must certainly have as great a Right to punish him who injures the whole Society by denying the being of a God.

Auth. ib. And consequently, the Magistrate must have a Right to punish not only the deniers of a Divine Being, but ll who make the Notion useless by disowning his providential care of Mankind, or ineffectual by not honouring or adoring him, or who are guilty of formal Blasphemy, Profaneness, Perjury and common Swearing.

E Contr. The Magistrate not only has a Right, but 'tis his indispensable Duty to do it, whatever the Society are like to get or lose by it; for the Magistrates, whether Right or Duty

in this caſe doe's not ariſe from the Intereſt of Humane Societies principally, but only ſecondarily, and conſequentially; the Society's intereſt may be an additionol motive, but not the main end and ground of it, which is from ſuperior Obligations, to promote God's Glory, which if inſtead of primarily reſpecting he has only obliquely and indirectly in his Eye thro' its effect the Good of his Socety thro' which only he conſiders it, he takes a wrong aim, and as is too common, miſſes by that means of both, whilſt he makes the Effect the Cauſe.

Auth. 18. So that Men when they are aſſociated on a Civil, are Oblig'd to do the ſame on a Religious account, one being neceſſary for the ſupport of the other.

E Contr. So that Religion by our Author's account crept into Societies by the by, as an Appendix, the Original of it not being from God, but from Men; and not of Choice neither (for they would gladly have made a hard ſhift without it) but Neceſſity made 'em take in ſome of it amongſt 'em, not as the chief buſineſs of Life, or the end of their Creation; no, but what then? Why when our Anceſtours Met upon *Salisbury-plain* to aſſociate on a Civil account, and ſign the Original Contract, they were forc'd upon Second Thoughts, to take in a little Religion amongſt 'em, to make the Civil Affairs they were

were Met about, run more ſmoothly: Now if this be not with the Atheiſt to make Religion a Politick Device brought in on purpoſe for better Regulating Humane Society, I know not what is ſo.

Auth. 19. Nothing at firſt Sight can be more obvious than that all being under an indiſpenſable Obligation to Worſhip God after the manner they think moſt agreeable to his Will, and in all Religious matters whatever to follow the Dictates of their Conſciences, none cou'd make over the Right of Judging for himſelf, ſince that wou'd cauſe his Religion to be abſolutely at the diſpoſal of another.

E Contr. What the Author wou'd do without the State of Nature I can't tell, 'tis his faſt Friend at every turn, when even he wants to be help't out at a Dead Lift, away he has you to his Heathen Oracle, where he anſwers thro' the Pipes, and ſets all right as he would have it, tho' by ſaying and unſaying, Thus the State of Nature has been already conſulted, Has the Magiſtrate Power in Religion? The Oracle Anſwer'd, O yes to be ſure. Here none can doubt that he is fully Authoriz'd. Has he Power to Puniſh thoſe that deny the Being of God or Providence? The Anſwer was the ſame, O moſt certainly. Has he Power to Puniſh thoſe who by not Honouring God make the Notion uſeleſs? T'was granted he has, with a Reaſon at

the end on't, that Religion is ſo Neceſſary for the Support of Humane Society, they cannot tell what to do without it; and that the Welfare of Civil Societies being the Magiſtrates care, he is Oblig'd to concern himſelf with all things that conduce to their Welfare, of which Religion is the Chief, the moſt Subſtantial Parts of which were ſubject'd to him. But we had forgot Liberty of Conſcience all this while, which was to be took care of whatever becomes of the reſt, and what ſhall we do for it? Why 'tis but going back with him to his Oraculous ſtate of Nature again, with the very ſame Queſtions as before, and 'tis done. Is the Magiſtrate fully authoriz'd in Religion? No, No. Why I thought you had ſaid he had. Why but there are ſome Trifling meerly Speculative points, otherwiſe called the Doctrines of reveal'd Religion, and Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, and alſo ſome particular Modes of Worſhip, with certain Rites, Ceremonies, and other indifferent things, *Alas* the Chriſtian Sacraments and Goſpel Worſhip, which he has nothing to do with, being excepted when the Original Contract was made. Is the Magiſtrate impower'd to puniſh ſuch as make the Notion of God's being uſeleſs, by monſtrous Opinions, Hereſies, or breach of Unity? No, by no means; every Man is to have his own way for all the Magiſtrate; the Magiſtrate's buſineſs is to ſee that every one do's that

that which is Right in his own Eyes, to ſee that he does not hinder his Flock, nor they one another from taking each his own courſe. Thus the State of Nature is both ways his humble Servant, and his Magiſtrate's full Power in Religion is come all at laſt to this; That he may puniſh an Atheiſt profeſt or conſequential in formal Blaſphemy, Perjury, Profaneneſs *&c.* which in Truth is no Religious Power at all; for the belief of a God, or that a Worſhip is due to him, is neither a Religion of 'its ſelf, nor a part of any Religion, but the Baſis and precognitum Religion is founded upon: Tis the advances upon theſe Notions where Religion begins, and firſt takes that Name, from the belief that God is, Men proceed to form Notions what he is, and conceive him by his Attributes, which with the Deductions from them are Doctrinal or ſpeculative Religion; and the Methods and Modes made uſe of in Worſhipping and Honouring of him, they are practical Religion, and if the Magiſtrate neither have any Power in Speculative Points, in takingcare that the Society he governs, have juſt, true and worthy apprehenſions of God's Nature, and Being, nor in the Modes, Rites and Ceremonies of his Worſhip, to ſee that they be agreeable to his Inſtitution, he has no Religious Power at all, or to expreſs it otherwiſe; If every Man have an Inſeparable Right to believe and profeſs of God what he will, and Worſhip him how he will, there's no ſuch thing as a Religious Supremacy in Magiſtrate or

any other perſon, which muſt be an Obligation upon Men, in one or t'other reſpect, and all our Magiſtrates Religious Power is come to this, to have nothing to do with any Religion, or any Man as of any, but what ſeems more without his Power, to puniſh no Religon; and if an Atheiſt or two in an Age like an unnatural Birth, come abroad in his Society, to Stifle it.

But to proceed with the Author upon his own Notion. The Ground and Reaſon of the Magiſtrates Power in Religion he ſays, is the conducibility of Religion to the Happineſs of humane Societies. To make Religion conducible to the Happineſs of Society, I hope it muſt be true Religion, for falſe Religion can never promote Happineſs, and whether the Magiſtrate had his Power from God or the People, it can't be ſuppoſed they gave it him to protect falſe Worſhips, which he ought for the ſame reaſon to forbid as he ought to protect the true; and if God by appointing a Religion has declared all others unlawful and unacceptable to him, 'tis certain in a Society profeſſing the belief of that Declaration, that the Magiſtrate can only maintain that, and diſcourage all other, and the Chriſtian Magiſtrate can allow none but Chriſtian Religion in his Society therefore, becauſe there is no other by which God declares himſelf honour'd, or Mens Happineſs promoted, which are the ends of the Magiſtrates being intruſt'd,

truſt'd, nor can the Magiſtrate by this be injurious to any Man's natural Right, becauſe no Man can have a natural Right to Worſhip God contrary to his own Will and Command.

The Goſpel or reveal'd Religion is Built upon the Ruins of this very Principle of Mens Worſhipping God in the manner which they think moſt agreeable to his Will, which the Author lays down as ſo indiſpenſable an Obligation; for if Mens Worſhipping of God, as themſelves thought beſt, and following the Dictates of their Conſciences, had been the Duty God required of them, Revelation had been needleſs, and all Religions conſcientouſly liv'd in equal: But it was the Erroneouſneſs and corruption of natural Conſcience, and 'its inſufficienet to ſerve God acceptably, made a reveal'd Worſhip neceſſary, and whatever Right Men might have before Revelation, o chuſe their own way of Worſhipping, Revelation by making that choice for them, has deſtroy'd. God has took Men out of their own conduct in Religion, and the Oeconomy of their Faculties, and forbid them to Worſhip him by Schemes of their own drawing out, or to harken to their own natural inclinations and apprehenſions, which they are to reſign up to his word and Will, having declar'd a natural Man, or a Man in the State of Nature, incapable of receiving the things of God, or of knowing them, being fooliſhneſs unto him, who is therefore no proper Guide

Guide or competent Judge in Religion, and whatever Right of Power particular Men have in Religion, muſt be within the Bounds of reveal'd Religion, and within thoſe Bounds it muſt be granted that a Man has a proper Right of Judging for himſelf; Tho' it can't be ſaid well, that he has a liberty of chuſing either what to believe or profeſs, becauſe the Rule is fixt for both; and the Will of Man, the Faculty on whoſe exerciſe Liberty of choice depends, is abſolutely bound up, and determin'd, as the more peccant and unruly Faculty, and has no Right of Liberty of Volition of it's own left to make any new Election of Religion as from 'its ſelf: But the Power that is left Men is the proper work of the Underſtanding, and the reſult of the Underſtanding, the Judgment or Conſcience, which has a reſerv'd Right under conditions and reſtrictions of determining for 'its ſelf in Religion, not what Rule to walk by, but where it's Rule (which is God's revealed Word, not its Reaſon) is doubtful, which ſide of it is right, and by applications of Notions and Actions to the Rule, to judge how they agree or differ from it, in doing which the Magiſtrate ought not coactively to impoſe a neceſſity of believing or acting upon any Man, contrary to the determination of his Mind, or puniſh him for diſſenting from his.

And the Reaſons why Magiſtrates ought to indulge every Man this Right of judging

ing for himſelf within the Bounds mention'd, does not ariſe either from the Command of God, or from any regard due to Conſcience, upon the account of its Excellence, or Diginty of its Office as God's immediate Vicegerent, and therefore Non-ſubjection to any beſides him, *&c.* But firſt from the natural temper and conſtitution of the Underſtanding, that is not ſubject to force, nor apt to be mov'd in its Determinations, Judgment and Conſcience, by any other than by directive and ſvaſory methods, and by influencing it by thoſe previous Propoſitions to which it bears the reſpect of an involuntary and neceſſary concluſion, ſo that a Man judges what he do's judge whether he will or no, and can no more himſelf force his own Judgment, or make it obey his Will, than another can.

Secondly, from the conſideration of the Fallibility of humane Underſtanding, to which ſuch an Indulgence is but a juſt allowance; but then conſequently where it is notorious that Mens Singularity in Religion is not ſo much the act of the Underſtanding, which acts neceſſarily, but of the Will, whoſe determinations are in their own Power, and which is the proper Subject of Force, the Reaſon of indulgence from the unconſtrainableneſs of the Underſtanding ceaſes, as that from the conſideration of Fallibility alſo does, where the Evidence of Truth leaves no room for miſtake by double acceptation, as in all Caſes where Men pretend to believe

or

or profeſs contrary to the known Voice of Revelation, or what is univerſally agreed to be eſtabliſhed by it; for Error is Error from whatever cauſe proceeding from the Corruption of the Underſtanding or of the Will, and ought no more to be tolerated or go unpuniſhed in one than the other; and were there an Infallible Judge on Earth there could be no pretence for Toleration from any Pleas of Conſcience, and the Perſecuting Spirit of the Church of *Rome* is but the neceſſary Effect of its pretence to Infallibility.

Auth. ib. As to theſe matters (*viz.* Speculative Points, Modes of Worſhip, Rites and Ceremonies, that is, all Religion properly ſo called) Men are ſtill in the State of Nature, without any Sovereign Repreſentative to determine for 'em what they ſhall believe or profeſs.

E Contr. Which whoever ſays, let him by Anathema; So ſay not I of my ſelf, but the Church of *England*, in her 18th Article. They alſo are to be had accurſed that preſume to ſay, as this Son of hers do's, that every Man ſhall be Saved by the Law or Sect which he profeſſes, if he be diligent in framing his Life according to that Law and the Light of Nature; for the Holy Scripture doth ſet out to us only the Name of Jeſus Chriſt whereby we muſt be Saved. And in the 20th Article, the Church hath Power

er to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and has Authority in Controverſies of Faith, ſo that his natural Liberty of profeſſing and believing and Worſhipping God as every Man thinks fit, is quite took away; for every Man is bound to one way, and in that one way that National Church or Religious Society that Men are Members of, has Power by its Governors to determine Rites and Ceremonies for them, and its whole Body. *Vid. Grot. Cap.* 3 *Sect.* 12 *de imp. ſum. pot.*

Auth. 20. Tis a Grand miſtake to ſuppoſe the Magiſtrate's Power extends to indifferent things, for then he might deprive Men of all Liberty, and render his Power inſupportable *&c.* And *ib.* Therefore the Magiſtrate's Power, the end of Government being the true meaſure of its extent, reaches not to indifferent things *&c.* And *ib.* And if Conſcience was not concerned about the manner of Worſhipping God, the Magiſtrate could have no Right to abridge Men of their Liberty, but is as much obliged to protect 'em in the way they chuſe of Worſhipping him, as in any other indifferent matter.

E Contr. Tis a grand miſtake to ſuppoſe the Magiſtrate's Power does not extend to indifferent things; if it extend to any things at all the Magiſtrate's Power extends to all things not repugnant to the Laws of God and Nature. By indifferent things the Author means

means all ſuch things as can be done without Detriment to the Publick: Now thoſe things muſt only be things that are ſimply indifferent; for if things are Morally and EſſentiallyGood they can't be let alone without Detriment, if Morally and Eſſentially bad they can't be done without it. And therefore whatever is indifferent to the Society muſt be indifferent in its ſelf, and if things are indifferent in themſelves they yet may not be indifferent with repect to Society, whoſe good or harm they may notwithſtanding conſiderably affect, and loſe towards them their indifference, which muſt alſo be excluded from our Author's Claſs of Indifferents, which are only thoſe things that may be done without affecting the Publick at all, and have no tendency to its good, nor I ſuppoſe harm, of which ſort hardly any thing in Religion can be reckon'd, there being ſcarce that circumſtantial but what the Publick may feel in conſequence the effects of one way or the other, there not being that Speculative Point ſo foreign to Publick good, but is drawn in to be a Principle of Action, thro' which Mens Minds, and then their Manners are ſo influenc'd that the whole Society is either injured or benefitted by it, and the Almighty more or leſs Honoured and Adored.

If the Magiſtrate has any Conſtituent Power any more than what's barely declara-tive, any truly and primarily Legiſlative, 'tisin things indifferent only where he can exerciſeit, for all other things are ſhut up againſt him and determin'd

determin'd to his hand. Whatever God has made Morally good orevil, the Magiſtrate has no Conſtituent Power in.

The determination of indifferent things is not unlawful in its ſelf; for if 'twere ſo, particular men could no more determine them for themſelves than the Magiſtrate cou'd determine them for them, and ſince they are in their own nature determinable, 'tis ſtrange every one ſhou'd have the Right of doing it but lawful Authority, and that every Fool may determine them for himſelf, whilſt all the Wiſdom of a Society can't do it for him; 'tis as good for the Society that the Magiſtrate determine 'em, as that each private Member do it for themſelves; if he determine 'em that way every one wou'd have 'em, it wou'd be all one, if he detetermine them the way the Majority would have 'em: The very pleaſure and Gratification of the Society is a publick good, were there no more in it, to which if the fewer by contrary determinatins oppoſe themſelves, they are not only Enemies to the good of the Society, but ſo much more culpable becauſe by their own confeſſion what they do, contribute nothing to the publick good; and ſhould every Man do the like the Society would get nothing by it. Beſides, every Man in oppoſing the Magiſtrate's determination, and reſolving either not to do indifferent things according to his Limitation, or do 'em his own contrary way, is guilty of the ſame Crime he charges the Magiſtrate

giſtrate withall, of determining that which has no tendency to the Publick good, reſolving not do an indifferent, being as much a Determination of it as an impoſition to do it.

Tis in indifferent things only where the Magiſtrate can be ſaid to be obeyed, for in things determin'd by God's word or Nature, 'tis not the Magiſtrate's Authority that creates the Obligation, whoſe adding a Sanction lays no new one, but only increaſes (if it do's do ſo) what it had already.

Tis fitter the Magiſtrate ſhould have Power in indifferent things, than many, becauſe in them he can leaſt abuſe it to the Society's Prejudice; all the damage any can ſuſtain by his confining him in things indifferent, being only an abridgment of an inſipid and impertinent Liberty, which can be no real loſs, becauſe the things were indifferent; for a Man can't be the worſe for loſing that which he owns has no Good in it, or being Obliged to do what its ſuppoſed there is no hurt in. If 'tis ſaid that Liberty it ſelf is a Good that in this Caſe is loſt, then nothing can be indifferent in Nature, and whil'ſt things are call'd ſo they are ſuppoſed not ſo. If Liberty be ſimply a Good, then Magiſtracy and Government that conſiſt in the Confinement of Liberty are Simply Evil and unlawful; but Liberty is a Good not in its ſelf, but ſo far only as it ſerves to attain ſome good end, and its loſs is no farther Evil than 'tis a hinderance to that attainment,

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and tis much the better Plea for Liberty of Conſcience to deny any thing to be indifferent, and ſay what others call ſo, is not ſo to me. For to own things to be indifferent and yet Refuſe Obedience in them, is profeſt Intractability, and Perverſneſs; and ſince God has made Obedience to Magiſtrates a Duty, as one can diſcharge that Duty no where cheaper than in indifferent things, ſo the Vertue of Obedience does no where appear ſo clear and ſincere, as when exerciſed in matters, whoſe indifferent Nature leaves the Will to its Native Poiſe, without foreign Impulſe, nor is Diſobedience any where ſo criminal and malicious; and God therefore made choice of an action in its own Nature indifferent rather than another, as moſt proper to exerciſe; Firſt, the Obedience of our Nature to command in, and not of one morally Good or Evil. *But that* the Reader may have a more compendious view of our Author's Doctrine of Indifferents, I have reduced 'em to theſe Few following grave Aphoriſms which they amount to.

Firſt: Things Indifferent are things moſt Sacred, or things moſt Sacred are things Indifferent. *Secondly*, The great and invioiable Right of Mankind is the Liberty of every ones doing thoſe momentous things as they pleaſe, which 'tis no matter how they do or whether they do at all. *Thirdly*, That the Magiſtrate may determin all things whatſoever but thoſe that want determina-

tion. *Fourthly*, that it is the Solid and inſeparable Happineſs of Mankind, that they are free to do thoſe things as they liſt, that no body can be the better for. *Fifthly*, That 'tis every *Engliſh* Man's birth-right not to be obliged to take up a Straw, and that the QUEEN and Parliament can't deprive him of the Bleſſing of uſing Chips in Pottage, or force him to it againſt his Will.

Auth. 21. All which, God who Commands not Impoſſibilities, requires of us is an impartial Examination, and conſequently that alone, provided we act agreeably, makes us acceptable to him.

E Contr. The Chriſtian Church is more and more unhappy in this Patron of hers, who has aſſerted away all her Rights, and inſtead of finding out and recovering for her new Advantages, and loſt Prerogatives, has left her nothing remaining, but what's in common to her with *Jews*, *Turks*, *Infidels*, and *Hereticks*, whom he hath let into all equal Advantages with the Church of Chriſt, whether they be thoſe of this Life or of the next. As to this World he has intitled them equally to the Protection of his Magiſtrate, not by way of Toleration upon the account of Conſcience only, but if there be not Conſcience in the matter, by way of natural Right, and has inlarged the Streight Gate to ſome purpoſe, ſo as to be capable of admitting

admitting all Religions a-breaſt; for all that God requires is impartial Examination, and that alone, provided Men act agreeably, makes them acceptable to him, ſo that this is our Author's Body of Divinity; his Fundamental Doctrines are, *My Son, lean to thy own underſtanding, Prov.* 3. 5. And take thy own way in ſervingGod: His Creed is very ſhort, Believe in God, or ſay thou doſt, and thou art Orthodox; his Commandements are but two, Examine impartially and act agreeably, and hit or miſs, right or wrong, be the reſult what it will, thou art acceptable to God.

Thus without Grace, without Faith, without Truth, without Chriſt, our Good Aſſerter is making Men perform their Duty, and go to Heaven by the Heatheniſh Road of Nature. But ſuppoſing impartial Examination were all that God required, as he ſays, He talks like an Infidel or a very forgetful Chriſtian, to ſuppoſe Men naturally capable of it; for he can't but know that Original Sin and its Conſequences by *Adam's* Fall is the Hypotheſis Chriſtianity is built upon, that Man was fallen into an abſolute impotency in Religion, in all his Faculties incapable of impartial Examination, in his Underſtanding there being Darkneſs and Ignorance, from ſeeing and knowing God, being fallen to groping after him, in his Will warped and diſtorted, perverſneſs and incapableneſs of Good Inclination in his Heart, and Rebellion and evil Concupiſcence, in his Judgment and Conſcience,

ſcience, grown rotten and vicious, ſo ſtrong præpoſſeſſions againſt Spiritual Truth, as to count it Fooliſhneſs when propoſed, and not to own it laid before them. And now to talk of impartial Examination, and acting anſwerably in this Condition, is as much as to ſay if a Blind Man will look Sharp, and a Dead Man beſtir himſelf notably, Heaven is his own, i'le warrant it: But ſuppoſe Examining tho' not impartially, yet as well as the unaptneſs of the Tools they have to do it with, will permit, and to have been ſo lucky, as to ſtumble upon Truth, and to act in ſome meaſure agreeably; yet to ſuppoſe this enough to make them acceptable to God, is to forget there was Enmity between God and our Nature, a Satisfaction to be made, and a Reconciliation to enſue upon it, before our Actions, however agreeable to our Conſciences and right Reaſon, have any pretence to acceptability from God, without which our Vertues and beſt Works have the nature of Sin, and to teach Men whether they are within or without the Church, that an impartial Examination and acting agreeably will do their buſineſs, is to make every Man his own Saviour, to depoſe Chriſt and tell him to his Face that he might have Spared himſelf the Coſt and Pains he has been at in our Redemption, and that without him we can do well enough: And the Author ſince he calls himſelf an Aſſerter of the Rights of Chriſt's Church, ought

ought at leaſt in good Manners, if he wou'd have Examination and agreeable Action enough to make Men acceptable to God, to have added through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and not left out Chriſt out of the cauſes of acceptability; but have mention'd him however in προσθήκης μέρει, but ſo ſacredly do's he abſtain from that Name, as if he were afraid of uſing it in Vain, where without the groſſeſt Neglect and Diſhonour it cannot be omitted.

But the Aſſerter's Chriſtianity, 'tis plain, is Natural and not Revealed, and the Cloven-Foot wrapt up in the Specious Title of the Right of the Chriſtian Church Aſſerted, is ſo often peeping out from under its Cloak, which I find he is leſs and leſs ſtill ſhy of ſhewing, that I imagin he will not charge its Obſervation amongſt Affronts, or to ſay that the reſpect he bears to Chriſt is proportionable to that expreſt by him towards his Miniſters.

Auth. ib. ——— Men — can have no Right to fix Rewards or Puniſhments to things which are of a moral Nature, becauſe they tend to hinder the grand Duty of conſideration.

E Contr. Things Indifferent being the Subject of this Conſideration, as has been obſerved, the hinderance of it is a mighty Loſs you muſt think, and mature Deliberation and Reſolution a grand Duty indeed.

But in my mind the Magiſtrate's determination of things Indifferent ſhou'd rather bring Men to conſideration and promote it, if they are capable of it, than hinder it; methinks it ſhould be natural for a Man, to conſider with himſelf, that if the Magiſtrate has determined what is naturally indifferent, by affixing Rewards and Puniſhments to it, what he is like to gain by Obedience or Diſobedience, and to ſay to himſelf, this thing is in its own nature Indifferent, had I of my own Head made the determination, tho' it wou'd have done no body any good, which the Magiſtrate has ſaved me the trouble of, by making it for me; it might have been well enough may be, and why ſhou'd I boggle at it only becauſe 'tis not my own doing, to conſider that what was before Indifferent is the ſame thing it was ſtill in its Nature, but not as to uſe; that 'tis not for nothing to be ſure the Magiſtrate has made the determination, but to promote Order and ſome Good End, to conſider if the Magiſtrate has abridg'd me of my Liberty, in that wherein I was and ought to be Free, and abridged it, which is worſe, contrary to my fancy, whether the Liberty I have loſt, is worth incurring Penalties and Puniſhments for, and diſturbing the Peace of the Society, I am a Member of, about, and whether 'tis not my Duty as well as Intereſt to acquieſce. Rewards, and Puniſhments are of a quickening Nature, bring Men to their

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Senſes, make 'em look about 'em, and upon Examination often find, that which paſt with them for Principle and Conſcience proves Self-willedneſs and Humour.

Auth. ib.——Men when they become capable of chuſing their Religion, will be diſcourag'd from impartially Examining thoſe Opinions to which Preferments are annex'd, for fear of finding 'em falſe; and frighten'd from conſidering thoſe to which Puniſhments are affix'd, leſt they find 'em true.

E Contr. If Men are to examine all Religions before they chuſe any, This is a work of ſo much time, that 'tis hardly poſſible for thoſe who have the beſt opportunities to make the Choice, till 'tis pretty late in the Day; and if the Author has proceeded by his own Method 'tis to be doubted whether he has yet gone through the Examination, and have not his Religion to Chuſe, and for his Magiſtrate's allowing all Religions fair play to make Proſelytes, and propoſe themſelves equally with all their Advantages, by treating all his Subjects alike; 'tis but the reverſe of his Duty, to execute Juſtice and to maintain Truth is certainly the Magiſtrate's Duty, and to be what ours is called, Defender of the Faith; for as to execute Juſtice, ſuppoſes the Magiſtrate has a Right to determine what is juſt, ſo to maintain Truth, ſuppoſes he has the ſame to know what is True, and how is Truth

to be maintain'd, or Faith defended, I desire to know, but by adding Rewards and Encouragements to the belief, profession and practice of it, by suppressing Falshood and Error, which Men can't be too much prejudiced against the Choice of, by loading them with all manner of Discouragments, and this for his own sake as well as for his Subjects, being chargeable with all the Irreligion he does not oppose, and prevent if he can. To apply this to our case for ; instance, must not the Doctrines of the Church of *England*, of Protestantism, of Christianity its self be incourag'd, for fear Men be discourag'd from Examining them, lest they find them false ; must not Antichrist be frown'd upon, lest his Subjects be frighten'd from considering his Doctrines, for fear of finding them True ? Has God indeed allow'd Men a fair and indifferent choice of Opinions ? Has not he whose Methods are the Standards and surest Presidents for Magistrates to proceed by, annext Rewards with a Vengeance to Opinions, that best knows how our Nature ought to be dealt with ? Are not we prone enough to Errors, but the Magistrate must also see them trick't out, with their most specious Recommendations to ensnare ? Are we not backward enough to imbrace Truth, but the Magistrate must stand by with his Hands in his Pockets, and have nothing to do or say in its Defence, but see it run down amongst

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his Subjects, even in thoſe things, which from the fulleſt Evidence of Faith and aſſurance, tis moſt certain in? I have heard of Giving the Devil his due; and indeed the Author's Notion makes it his Right to have his Temptations have fair play in his Common-wealth, and that upon a Petition offer'd to his Magiſtrate, repreſenting from his Blackneſs the great Partiality that is ſhewn by the Government on the ſide of Truth, to the great hinderance of conſideration, in order to a free choice of Opinions that the Grievance ought to be redreſt.

Auth. ib. The contrary Methods, *viz.* fixing Rewards and Puniſhments to Opinions and Modes of Worſhip, can only ſerve to prejudice thoſe who are to chuſe their Religion, and can have no Effect on thoſe who have already made their Choice, except to make them Hypocrites, even in the moſt Solemn Acts of Devotion.

E Contr. If Men have already made their Choice of Religion, adding Rewards and Puniſhments, comes too late to make them Hypocrites, if they were not ſo before, and by the ſame Rule Rewards ought not to be fixt to Vertue it ſelf, for fear Men ſhou'd not chuſe it for its own ſake, nor Vice be made uneaſie, leſt Men ſhou'd not fly its Moral Turpitude, but attendant Miſchiefs: Heaven and Hell ought not to be

be promiſed and threatned, if the increaſe of Hypocriſie that may enſue upon it, or the prejudices of Choice were to be conſider'd, which lay Men under infinitely ſtronger Temptations that way than any Mulct of Magiſtrates.

Auth. ib. And where this Effect does not follow, it makes thoſe whom 'tis the intereſt of the Common-wealth chiefly to protect, the conſcientious to ſuffer, or elſe it forces Men to defend by Arms thoſe Natural Rights of which no humane Power can have a Right to deprive 'em.

E Contr. In other words what he ſay's is, that tender Conſciences will Rebell, and rather than loſe any of their Natural Rights of Choice in Indifferent Things, will unnaturally lay the whole Society they are Members of in Blood and Confuſion. Now this in contradiction to himſelf, is not treating the Magiſtrate as he muſt treat all his Subjects, this being hindering the duty of Conſideration with a Witneſs, and diſcouraging the Magiſtrate from examining any Opinions, whether they are indifferent or not, and frightning him from Contradicting his Subjects in any thing that they ſhall call Indifferent, tho' it be the belief of God himſelf for fear of Conſequent Rebellion.

Auth. 22. To prevent which, (*viz.* conſcientious Perſons Rebelling for Indifferent Things)

Things) the Magiſtrate may puniſh thoſe who Preach up Perſecution, as juſtly as if they had Preach'd up Robbery, Murder, or any other Crime; becauſe it is the moſt conſummate Villany, in making Men ſuffer for doing the beſt things they are capable of, and without which they can neither be good Subjects to God or the Magiſtrate.

E Contr. The Author, whoſe work is a prophane Satyr againſt the Clergy, the Wrongs of whom, not the Rights of the Church, is the proper Name of his Book, has been thus far preparing his Inſtruments of Death for their Crucifixion, and having now got things ready for them, the Prieſts are to be brought out to Execution, as one ſmall Article of their Indictment to Suffer for Preaching up Robbery, Murder and the moſt conſummate Villany, comprehended in the word Perſecution, and let us ſee 1ſt. What that horrible and monſtrous Pentaſyllable imports. 2dly. What the Author means by it. 3dly. Whether the Clergy of the Church of *England* ever Preacht it up in his ſenſe. 4thly. How far they are by his own Principles Culpable.

Firſt. The word Perſecution it ſelf imports no Criminal or Vitious either action or affection, being applyed in Scripture to good Men, to good Angels to God himſelf, being not more than ſtrenuouſly and in-

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ceſſantly to execute penal and vindictive Juſtice, and purſue Men with it, and thus far Perſecution is every Magiſtrate's Duty, and 'tis every Miniſter's to Preach it up; half that every Magiſtrate has to do is to Perſecute, to be an Avenger, to execute Wrath upon the unjuſt diſturbers of their Societies Peace.

Secondly. Let us look upon it in its Evil, that is, the Author's Senſe; then Perſecution is unduly, unjuſtly, wrongfully, to puniſh and execute Wrath, to vex and expell from Societies thoſe who do their Duty in them to God and Man, that have Truth and Innocence on their ſide, or where at leaſt the Offence is below the Vengeance, or it belongeth not to humane Juſtice to Puniſh. Now this Perſecution muſt proceed from one of theſe two Cauſes; Malice as in NERO, &c. Ignorance, as in St. *Paul*. Malicious Perſecution is when Men in direct oppoſition and averſion to God Truth, and do either knowingly and againſt Conſcience, violently oppreſs Perſons, or from affected Ignorance or confirm'd Prejudice. Perſecution thro' Ignorance is miſguided Zeal, when Men thinking to do God good ſervice, from the dictates of an erroneous Conſcience are the Perſecutors.

So that *Thirdly*, to make Perſecution the conſummate Villany the Author wou'd have it, theſe two things muſt concurr: Firſt, that the perſons Perſecuted be in the Right, and their Proſecutions in the Wrong. 2dly, That

That the Perſecution be Malicious, for without both theſe the Crime is not conſummate; for tho' the Perſecution be Malicious if the Perſecuted be proper Objects to exerciſe it upon the act, is ſimply good in its ſelf, and ſinful only in the manner of doing of it, and if the Perſecution be unjuſt if it is through Ignorance and Conſcience Erroneous, tho' the act is Evil yet the doing of it is not Villainous: Now by the Notion of Perſecution thus ſtated, whoever ſay's that the Church of *England*, or its Clergy (for that is what is driven at, and what our Author points his Finger at) has been guilty of Perſecution in its moſt Criminal ſenſe towards thoſe who have diſſented from her Communion, by making themleſs eaſy in their Opinions and Modes of Worſhip, than her own Members are in hers, ſuppoſes the Church of *England*, Firſt, ſo far in the wrong at leaſt, and the Diſſenters in the Right, that her Doctrine and manner of Worſhip are, if not wrong, and theirs Right, yet have no more tendency to promote the Happineſs of Men and Society than theirs have. 2dly, That the Clergy, who incourag'd the Magiſtrate by Preaching up this ſuppoſed Perſecution did it maliciouſly contrary to the convictions of their Conſcience, from affected Ignorance or confirm'd Prejudice. But a Member of the Church of *England*, as the Author ſays he is, can't ſuppoſe the firſt, and to inſinuate, the latter, is a Barbarity beyond all Chriſtianity.

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And therefore *Fourthly*, Tho' they might be in the wrong, tho' it might be ill done in them by miſtake ſo to Preach, which is found to have produc'd Inconveniences, yet to brand them for doing what they apprehended to be their Duty with ſuch broad Notes of Infamy, as Robbers, Murderers, and conſummate Villains, without Authority, beyond Reaſon and Juſtice, is to turn the conſummate Villain upon himſelf, by wrongfully, if not maliciouſly committing the Crime of Perſecution againſt thoſe he is ſo forward to charge it upon: He ſhould have conſider'd that the practice and univerſal, Conſent of Mankind had recommended it to them as a Truth, that the Magiſtrate might, and that it was his Duty to incourage Unity in the moſt Indifferent Things, and that he might not only ſhew more Favour to, but eſtabliſh ſuch Opinions and Modes of Worſhip, (barring againſt all others) whoſe uſe in the Church, Experience and Authority, as well as their own Nature, had recommended as moſt proper, to mantain Order and Decency by, and which were approved of much by the Majority of the Society; and whil'ſt the Nation lay under this conviction with the reſt of the World, that ſtill continues under it, he ought to have made ſome abatement of his Sentence of Robbery, Murder, *&c.* For Preaching up what was not yet diſprov'd by his new diſcovery of the Doctrine and Nature

ture of Indifficients, Eſpecially conſidering that by Treating the Clergy ſo, he Treats the whole Church and State of *England* no better, which his Hypotheſis proves, a Perſecuting Church, and State, its Princes and Parliaments oppreſſive Tyrants, Robbers, and Murderers for Ages ſucceſſively, which they not only have been, but ſtill are no better, if Liberty in what he call's Indifferents in Religion be a Natural Right, and Treating all perſuaſions and manners of Worſhip equally, be the Magiſtrate's Duty; for then the Acts of Uniformity are Perſecuting Acts, the Whole Eccleſiaſtical Legal Eſtabliſhment and all other Church Eſtabliſhments whatſoever are in themſelves wicked and unlawful, all Canons and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions for Order and Diſcipline ſtill much more ſo, and that our Legiſlature in violation to the Fundamental Laws of Nature, and Right of Conſcience have been the perpetual Oppreſſors of their Subjects, by depriving them all along of their Natural Rights, of which no humane Power can have a Right to deprive 'em. Nor does the Toleration it ſelf yet clear 'em from this Charge of Perſecution, becauſe Men are not yet fully reſtor'd to their Right of unprejudiced choice of Religion. There are yet Motives and Bribes remaining, and Preferments an next to Perſuaſions, and the Church of *England* has ſtill the advantage of other Doctrines, and Modes of Worſhip,

Worſhip, and therefore till the whole Conſtitution is intirely broke and thrown up all can't be well nor the Subjects have their due, but Her MAJESTY, notwithſtanding Her milde and gracious Government muſt be branded with Tyranny and Perſecution by this Introducer of Confuſions, with whom all Religious Settlements by Magiſtrates are impious, and who if he fix the Odium of Perſecution and Conſummate Villany upon the Clergy only for recommending to their Governors the ſupport of the Conſtitution, by the Laws, muſt in a much higher degree, fix it upon thoſe, who by making thoſe Laws, Eſtabliſh'd it, and by ſeeing them Executed, Support it.

Auth. 23. As all Atheiſtical Principles deſtroy Conſcience, ſo they can't plead a Right to a Toleration upon the account of Conſcience.

E Contr. That thoſe who have no Conſciences ought to have no Liberty for 'em, is true beyond Demonſtration; but that the want of a Conſcience is the only Reaſon he can find to Exclude Atheiſts from having the benefit of Toleration, looks as if it were not ſo much the evil and wickedneſs of his Principles that ſhut him out, as the want of an Inſtrument to apprehend the Grace of it offered as well to him as to any body elſe, cou'd he but find a way to receive it, and

if

if this be all, the Atheiſt will make a hard ſhift, but he'll produce a Conſcience tho' a ſorry one, or ſomething in its ſtead, to qualifie him to be taken into Protection amongſt the reſt.

Auth. ib. Not but ſuch a Conſcience (that is, ſuch a monſtrous erring Conſcience that had made a Man do ſuch acts, that the Good of the Society requir'd a ſtop to be put to) upon ſuppoſition it had done its beſt to be rightly inform'd, wou'd be innocent before God, yet that wou'd not hinder the Magiſtrate from diſcharging his Duty in protecting his Subjects.

E Contr. Which Poſition is doubly untrue: Firſt, tis not true that an Erring Conſcience is innocent before God; for Error is *Malum in ſe*, naturally Vitious and Immoral in its ſelf, which however involuntary, can never put off its Nature: An Evil in its ſelf can never be Cured of its Obliquity by being well done, and the Dictates of an Erroneous Conſcience may intangle (*ligare*) if purſued, but can't juſtifie; for actions done according to it, tho' they are right in their Manner, yet are wrong in their Matter. Evil can never be Good by being well done.

And 'tis untrue again, that where Men are Innocent before God, that Men can juſtly Puniſh upon accounts of any regards to Society; for if Men are Innocent before

God, they are really and truly Innocent: Now to puniſh real and true Innocence, no Circumſtances can make Duty: Where there is no Guilt, no Puniſhment can be due.

Auth. 24. To go further than this, and to ſuppoſe the Magiſtrate has a Right to uſe Force for the promoting Truth in his Dominions, muſt ſuppoſe he has a Right to judge for his Subjects what is Truth, and that they are bound to act according to his Determinations, *&c.*

E Contr. That they may execute Juſtice and maintain Truth, is the Prayer of the Church of *England* by Law Eſtabliſh'd for Magiſtrates; and if the Magiſtrate have a Right to do any thing 'tis certainly to promote Truth, ſince that's the Foundation of all Happineſs; and if he have a Right to promote it, how ſhou'd he promote it, but by uſing Force? Since the Sword is the only Inſtrument God has aſſign'd him, Authority, not Suaſion is his Province. When he deſcends to perſuade or intreat, he acts ſo far out of the way of his Office, and not according to the Tenour of his Commiſſion; and if the Magiſtrate have a Right to promote or maintain it any way, he muſt have a Right; Firſt, to judge what is Truth, and to know it; otherwiſe he has a Right to promote he knows not what; and if he has a Right to judge what is Truth, he

he has alſo a Right to determine what is ſo; and if he has a Right to determine, he has a Right alſo to puniſh for not acting according to his Determination.

But the Magiſtrate is to conſider that he has but the ſame fallible Faculties with other Men to make uſe of to determine withal, and therefore where Truth is any way doubtful, he ought to make Conceſſions according to Mens Infirmities, and enforce his determinations with abatement of Rigour, in proportion, as well to the contrary appearances that may miſlead Men from it, as to the poſſibility that there may be of himſelf being in the miſtake, and to Tolerate Men in their Opinions ſo far as any parity of Reaſons and Argument on both ſides, leave room for variety of Apprehenſion and Judgment; not but that in Probables he ought to make diſtinction, and add Advantages to incline Men to that which is the likelieſt to be true.

But where Truth is certain and can't admit of ſuſpicion to the contrary, and doubting is damnable, as in the Articles of our Faith, and whatever is plainly propoſed either to be believed or done in Scripture, there for the Magiſtrate to take upon him to Tolerate, is with the Pope to grant Indulgences for Sinning, and in a degree beyond what the Pope has ever been chargeable withal, or pretended to.

But you will ſay, every Man is to judge for himſelf in Religion, and to follow the de-

termination, not of the Magiſtrate, but of his own Conſcience.

To which I anſwer, That the Magiſtrate's determination and enforcing of Truth, does not deſtroy the Right every Man has to chooſe for himſelf, but rather confirm it, no more than the wholſom determinations by Law do deſtroy Civil Liberty. Beſides, Conſcience is indeed the immediate Judge and Rule in Religion, but 'tis not an abſolute and irreſpective Rule; for the Scripture is the Rule of Conſcience it ſelf. Now if it be Lawful for the Magiſtrate Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, or the Church it ſelf to determine the Canon of Scripture, by a Declaration what ſhall be accepted as ſuch in his or their Society, then Governors have a Right to judge for the private Members, of Society what is Truth, and determine it for 'em; and if they have a Right to judge and determine for others what is Truth in general, they muſt have the ſame to do it alſo in the particulars, for the parts make up the whole, and a Right to determine that this and this Book is Scripture is a Right to determine of every Sentence in thoſe Books one by one, tho' tis not neceſſary that this ſhou'd amount to a Right of Officially alſo Explaining them.

In Truth, Government is nothing elſe but a Right to determine for others what is Truth; and what is left to private Perſons in Religion, is the ſame as in Civils to ſtand to the publick determinations, or to bear the

the Penalty; for if Men neither are Oblig'd to obey the Law, nor to Submit to the Sanction, all Government is confounded.

Auth. 25. There's no need of any more Power than what I have laid down to anſwer all the ends of Government; ſince this gives the Magiſtrate a Right, to cut off any one, whether Lay or Clergy, from all Church Communion, by Baniſhment, Impriſonment or Death, *&c.*

E Contr. Spoke like the Supreme Legiſlator himſelf; as if the Author were at the Fountain of Government, and all Power were at his diſpoſal. But pray, Sir, who made you thus the Guardian of Magiſtracy, that it ſhou'd ſtand to your bare allowance of Power to have juſt ſo much and no more than you pleaſe out of your Generoſity to lay down, as you call it enough for it to anſwer not its ends, but yours? for 'tis well ſome Church Work more than ordinary has fallen by the by for his Magiſtrate to do, to cut off certain Lay and Clergy that he hasmarkt out for Deſtruction, or he would have far'd worſe for it.

Auth. ib. For by Vertue of this Power the Magiſtrate can Oblige any of his Subjects to ſerve his Country, tho' that ſervice confine him to Places which have no Chriſtian Church, *&c.*

Which ſhews that the Good of the Society is the Supreme Law, and that all Church-Conſiderations muſt give place to it; and that no Perſon on any Church-pretence whatſoever can be exempt from the Magiſtrate's Iuriſdiction, *&c.*

E Contr. The Law of God is the Supreme Law, Religion the Great Good of the Society, and Church-Communion, Church-Pretences and Church-Conſiderations; that is, the Right and Properties of the Church being Religion, are themſelves that thing he wou'd have all others, and themſelves give place to; and for the good of the Society he wou'd wiſely take away the Society's Good.

I can't but obſerve, that when with the Spirit of *Paul* going to *Damaſcus* (only not impower'd by the Magiſtrate) he is Impowering and Commiſſioning of the Magiſtrate, to cut off from Church-Communion Lay and Clergy, to Baniſh, Impriſon, put to Death; Confine to ſerve their Country where no Chriſtian Church is, and to make havock of Church-Conſiderations, Church-Pretences, and every thing that begins and ends with Church; how calm he grows upon the ſudden when MEETING becomes the word, towards the end of the Section? for then the Magiſtrate is ſo far from having a Right to diſturb, that he is oblig'd to ſecure them from all manner of Harms, if their MEETINGS tend to promote

promote the general good, as Mens Aſſembling to Worſhip God according to their Conſciences does.

Auth. 26. In ſome ſenſe the Magiſtrate's Power ſeems to be Greater with relation to the Church, than to other Societies, ſince he requires no more of them than that they entertain no Principle diſtructive of the publick Good; but here he is to ſee that all Doctrines which make for it, are to the utmoſt Inculcated.

E Contr. Tis a ridiculous and abſurd Paradox in any ſenſe, to aſſert the Civil Magiſtrate has more Power, in what is not properly Civil, than in what is ſo; and that the State's Power in any reſpect is greater in the Church, than in the State; the reaſon why the Magiſtrate takes more care to have Religious Doctrines Inculcated in the Church than politick Notions and Civil Principles in Clubs, Companies, and other little Societies for Trade or Pleaſure, is not becauſe his Right is greater here than there, but becauſe ſuch an Inculcation there is not worth the while, nor wou'd it anſwer the publick Expence to provide Inculcators.

Auth. ib. And for that end the Magiſtrate may Ordain and Authorize Miniſters publickly to inſtruct his Subjects, to avoid all ſuch things as he has a Right to reſtrain by preventing Force, and to practiſe

all ſuch things as he ought to encourage by ſuitable Rewards.

E Contr. The Magiſtrate has a Right to make all People under him do their Duty to their Relatives, by reſtraint and encouragment, and conſequently Miniſters as well as others; but as the Chriſtian Doctrines are not of the Magiſtrate's making, nor the Chriſtian Duties of his appointing, ſo neither are the Perſons that are *ex officio* to inculcate them, of his Primary Authorizing; the Miniſterial Power abſolute is from Chriſt; the Magiſtrate's authorizing and ordaining is only his allowance, as to the Exerciſe of that Power amongſt his Subjects, conſiſting of a Right of judging which are Chriſt's true Miniſters, with a Right of local Diſpoſition of them.

But the Author himſelf will effectually contradict this Notion of Magiſtrates Ordaining Miniſters by and by, which ſhall ſave me the trouble of doing it.

Anth. ib. Nothing can be more abſurd than to exclude him (the Magiſtrate) from a Right of Authorizing Perſons publickly, to mind him of what he owes to his Subject, and then of thoſe Duties they are to render to him.

E Contr. Then nothing can be more abſurd than the whole Chriſtian World, that he very well knows does believe and profeſs

profeſs that Chriſt in excluſion to the Magiſtrate has appointed an Order of Men. publickly to Officiate in his Religion.

And nothing can be more abſurd than the Author himſelf, who is guilty of both his Abſurdities mention'd; for how can the Magiſtrate Ordain or Authorize any to mind him of his Duty, which himſelf is no Judge of, but the People (Sect. 8.) and how ſhou'd he Authorize any body to teach them their Duty, to him, or each other, ſince being no Judge of his own, he is much leſs Judge of the Peoples, who are Judges both of his and their own?

Auth. ib. As he can ſet Miniſters apart to this end, ſo he may deprive, depoſe, or ſilence 'em if they neglect this Duty, or act contrary.

E Contr. What a Rare Circle of Preaching and Miniſterial Authority have we here got! The People they are to judge of the Magiſtrate's actions, and to teach him his Duty; the Magiſtrate, tho' he is ſuppoſed to know his Duty better than the Miniſters that he Ordains, can tell him, yet merely for Impertinence ſake muſt appoint a Set of 'em to teach both Him and his People: If they ſay what he does not like, he is to Un-Prieſt them, and they now return'd from their Miniſterial Servitude to the Body of the People, together with whom they are his Lords and Maſters, may Un-Magiſtrate him

him for his Pains, and thus they are to box it about till it comes round: The People are to ride the Magiſtrate, the Magiſtrate the Miniſtry, and the Miniſtry the People, and Unminiſter'd by the Magiſtrate, the Magiſtrate alſo.

Auth. ib. If the Miniſters have acquired greater Riches, than 'tis the intereſt of the Commonwealth they ſhou'd (as certainly there may be an exceſs that way) he has a Right to rectifie the abuſe, becauſe Mens entring into Societies, neceſſarily ſubjects their Properties to ſuch Laws as for the publick Good their Rulers ſhall make about it, *&c.*

E Contr. A very kind and ſeaſonable hint truly, ſince the QUEEN'S Bounty, if 'tis the Magiſtrate's Right to aſſign the *Quantum* of Miniſters Maintenances, and rectifie the abuſe on the exceſſive ſide, it is I hope equally both his Right and Duty to do it alſo on the defective. And ſince the Author has took upon him to be the Legiſlature's Remembrancer one way, with due Submiſſion to the Governours of my Country, I ſhall cloſe with the opportunity given by oppoſite Suggeſtions of being their Humble Monitor the other, by imploring their Juſtice and Commiſeration, in reſpect to Parochial Alienations by Impropriation, *&c.* that bare-faced Scandal of the *Engliſh* Reformation, the crying grievance of Church and State,

a piece of Popiſh Sacrilege continued, with Aggravation of wanting even Popiſh Pretences for it: In which there is neither Policy, Reaſon, Religion, nor Juſtice, and which nothing but Religion's being leaſt the Nations care, can account for not being redreſt: For admitting what the Author and the Church's Enemies inſinuate, that the Clergy have already in general amongſt them enough and too much without the Reſtitution of what's gon off; and that 'tis neceſſary to Curtail their Revenues, for reaſons of State, down as low as they are, yet ſtill the Dock ſhou'd be made with more regularity, and they ſhou'd have been equally ſhortn'd or with proportion to the circumſtances of Pariſhes, and not to be ſuffer'd to lye as it does by the very reverſe of Order and good Method, to have the greateſt Towns and Pariſhes of *England* generally the Sufferers, and all took away where moſt is wanted; that the preſent diſtribution of Church Mainenances looks more like fortuitouſly ſcattering them, by a Vile Contempt and Neglect, rather than a prudent and conſiderative Diſpoſition; ſo that if the Clergy have either enough or too much, and the Exceſs in ſome parts makes up the Defects in others, yet the Nation's crime is doubled not took off by it, by Mal-Adminiſtrations into both the Extremes, and in ſo ill contrived a manner, that 'tis hardly poſſible were it ſo, to ſupply the defect by taking

taking from the Exceſs; and I hope when God ſhall have given Her Majeſty Reſt from her Enemies round about, and Crown'd Her Kingdoms with Plenty and Peace, to reap the advantages of an Expenſive War, by injoying their Religion, and ſerving him without fear; that hewill put it into her Religious Heart, when ſhe, like *David*, ſhall be ſet in her Houſe (of Parliament) not to build him one Houſe, but edifie the living Temple of Chriſt, his Church eſtabliſh'd in the Kingdom, by reſtoring to it thoſe Ancient Supports, which in all Probability the Law of God has poſitively ſetled upon it; and Her Pious Anceſtours in Obedience to that Law, and compleat the good work of which ſhe has already given an earneſt, and by doing what the times at preſent will permit, bid us hope for the reſt in due time to follow, and the Legiſlature will not begrudge ſo grateful an Offering to Heaven for our Succeſſes, nor after ſo much Blood and ſo many Millions ſpent for our Religion and Church's defence abroad, for want of one ſmall Tax at home, let it be ſtarv'd in ſo many of its conſiderable Congregational Members, by the Scandalous Livelyhoods of its Officers; than which nothing has more attributed.

Firſt, To the Contempt of the Clergy; and by that;

Secondly,

Secondly, To the increaſe of Schiſms.

Thirdly, To the decay of Piety, the propagation of Prophaneneſs, Immorality and damnable Opinions.

Firſt, From this Exenteration of Benefices has chiefly proceeded that more than Heatheniſh Contempt of the Prieſt-hood, whoes Contagion every day ſpreads, and if not ſtopt will eat out like a Canker both the Religion and the Reputation of the Kingdom, a mental *Lues*, that we can neither Father upon *French*, *Spaniard*, nor *Italian*, who loath the foul Infection, nor find amongſt our Indian diſcoveries a Nation ſo irreligiouſly Brutiſh, and Wild, that we can pretend to have the filthy Diſtemper from, which has been bred at home from the Poverty of the Clergy in great and populous Pariſhes; for Contempt is the neceſſary and natural Effect of Poverty, if not prevented by Miracles and Supernatural Endowments, as it was in the Apoſtles and primitive Miniſtry, before Setled Maintenances; which Miracles God having withdrawn, and left the Eſteem of his Miniſters to follow from Natural Cauſes, Poverty has its effect upon them, as much as upon others, and a Poor Vicar in Apoſtolick Circumſtances of worldly Meanneſs, without Apoſtolick miraculous Endowments, wou'd be a Miracle himſelf if he were not deſpiſed, as they wou'dhave been had not God interpoſed.

And

And as Poverty neceſſarily makes Miniſters contemptible, ſo to juſtify that its firſt effect naturally brings them to deſerve it, as 'tis the Nurſe of Sloth and Ignorance; and that little Livings make Wooden Prieſts, by ſad experience is found too true.

As there is a Connexion between Learning and Incouragment, ſo there muſt be the ſame between Ignorance and none, or Poverty; and to think of having honourable Miniſters, where there are no Honourable Maintenances, is as vain to expect as unreaſonable to deſire; for if Men of Merit are not prevented by Fairer Invitations from the neceſſity of taking up with ſome of the thoſe Scanty Remains of Sacrilege, yet all the advantages of a Good Life and Learning, are born down by their Poor Circumſtances.

Secondly, As from the Clergies Impoveriſhment has chiefly proceeded their Contempt, ſo from that Contempt again has been the increaſe of Schiſm and Religious Diſtraction, which whatever were their firſt Cauſes, are generally now little more in Country places, than Peoples running any where from deſpiſed Miniſters, ; eſpecially in large and ill ſupply'd Vicaridges, whoſe great extent ill proportion'd to one Poor Man's care, adds uſually neglect of Duty, to the Contempt of his Perſon.

Thirdly.

Thirdly, The ſame Contempt has alſo largely contributed to the Decay of Piety, the growth of Atheiſm and Damnable Opinions, the Propagation of Prophaneſs and Immorality; for theſe are not ſo much the cauſes of the Contempt of the Clergy, as the effects of it. Men don't firſt grow Atheiſtical and Prophane; and then deſpiſe their Miniſters; but firſt deſpiſing their Miniſters, leads them on to the other; for where the Schiſmatical Effect does not follow upon the Contempt of the Clergy, the Atheiſtical or Prophane one does; the more flegmatick, dark and meticulous, are uſually wrought upon the former way, whil'ſt the ſanguine and brighter Complexion'd more fatally turn the other, and fly into Atheiſm, rather than Schiſms, and having ſtagger'd themſelves in the belief of that Religion, that is their Countries Choice, and ſo much their own, that they are ſenſible 'tis the beſt, think it leſs Reflection to fall from all, than take up with an acknowledged worſe.

The great Bar to Prophaneſs is Preaching, and the Ordinances that come thro the Miniſter's Hand, which can have but ſmall Effect where he is Scorn'd, and made a jeſt of; for tho' 'tis true, that Preaching and the Adminiſtration of Sacraments, loſe not their Effect towards due Hearers and Receivers, by a Miniſter's Unworthineſs, yet ſo few become Hearers or Receivers at all, and

and ſo few of thoſe few duly ſo, to Miniſters whom they have put under the Sentence of Deſpicable, that that Doctrine is defeated; and it may truly therefore be affirmed that ragged Caſſocks, and Sordid Incomes, occaſion'd by Impropriations, have been more fatal and injurious to the Religion and Chriſtianity of the Nation in general, to the Church Eſtabliſhed, to our Religious Peace and Unity, than all the pretended Vices of the Clergy, from which, being Men, they are far from being free: And without taking in therefore the Conſiderations of Juſtice, as the Labourer is worthy of his Hire, and the Equitable Relation between Work and Wages, to prove the Morality of the Divine Inſtitution of Tithes; this ſingle Conſideration of the natural ill Influences, which Prieſts Poverty have upon the Peoples Piety, and all Religion, is ſufficient of its ſelf to ſhew the Inſtitution grounded upon the moſt intimate Intereſts of Religion, and therefore in the higheſt degree Moral, if not as to the determination of the Mode, yet as to the aſcertaining, not only Maintenances, but ſuch Honourable Maintenances, as are equivalent to the Pattern given by the Decimal Portion; and the caſe of Impropriations therefore calls for a more ſerious Conſideration from the Publick, than it ſeems to have yet met with; for how great is the wrong of that Eccleſiaſtical Miſapplication?

Firſt

Firſt, To God.

Secondly, To the Clergy.

Thirdly, To the People of *England*.

1ſt. As Men. 2dly As Chriſtian Men. 1ſt If the Decimal Mode and portion of Tithes be *Jure Divino*, as there wants not equal probabilities that it is ſo, to thoſe againſt it, and the Tenth part of Nature's increaſe, be a reſerved Right of God Almighty kept in his own Hands; who as he has reſerv'd the Seventh part of Time has in like manner as a reſerv'd Rent for his uſe, kept the Tenth part of the increaſe of Mens Good's; which Rent by Aſſignment he has made over to the Officers of Religion, whom he has appointed his Deputies, to receive it for him, whoſe only Receipt can be Mens Diſcharge, which Aſſignment he has once for all under his Hand Recorded in his Word; leſt Reaſon and Nature added to Patriarchal practice, ſhou'd not be direction enough: If 'tis thus, then how tremendous, a Robbing of God is it? Robbing of his Miniſtry, Robbing every Man beſides out of whoſe Property ſuch miſapplyed Tithes are collected?

But ſuppoſing the Legal quotity of Tithes not moral, but ſet only as a Pattern, to which Magiſtrates are bound to have no farther reſpect than only as to Proportion, as a direction for an Aſſignment of ſuitable and convenient Maintenances for the Officers of of Religion, yet ſtill Impropriations are

high Violations of the Morality of that Divine Inſtitution, by reducing thoſe Maintenances below the Standard, both as to Juſtice and Religious Intereſt; and a degree inconvenient and injurious to the Church.

Beſides, I know not how to anſwer thoſe that ſay, 'tis an unjuſtifiable hardſhip left by the Legiſlature upon the Subject ſeveral ways: For whether 'tis the Right of the Miniſtry to have Honourable Maintenances or no, yet 'tis the Right of all Chriſtans to have Honourable Miniſters, and the Legiſlature having undertook to divide the Nation into Congregations, and parochial Diſtricts, and obliged every Man to ſtand to the Miniſter of that Congregation, which by Law they have made him Member of, has likewiſe bound it ſelf to ſee each Pariſh have Juſtice done in having fair Proviſion, equal with their Fellow-Subjects, and thoſe proviſions being raiſed by them out of every Man's Proporty, their miſapplication, as I ſaid, is a double Wrong to them as Chriſtians, loſing their Right of having Chriſt's Inſtitutions apply'd to them with proper advantages, and as Subjects being made to pay for a Worthy Miniſter, and not ſuffered to have what they pay for.

But if what I have ſaid be not enough to awaken the Nation's publick Juſtice, I am ſure 'tis to move the Commiſeration of all thoſe that have any Chriſtian Bowels, ſince *Turky* it ſelf can hardly ſhew greater Spectacles

cles of Chriſtian Deſolation and Miſery than may at this Day be ſeen in an Hundred inſtances in the midſt of our Flouriſhing reform'd Chriſtian Kingdom: For what worſe Scene of Chriſtian Devaſtation can there be than to ſee the Churches falling, the Miniſters Starving, and the People Running away from both? Which may all be ſeen in many of our large depauperated Vicariges, that are rather to be call'd the Ruins and Reams of once Chriſtian Congregations, than ſuch at preſent.

Firſt, In how many places may we ſee that Venerable Monument of our Anceſtors Piety, the Church, ſtanding as a Lodge in a Garden of Cucumbers, the Habitation of Owls and Batts, and if not foundering with Decays without, yet furb and choakt up with Filthineſs and neglect, even in its moſt Sacred parts ſo, that for Reaſons of cleanlineſs it were well for it if it cou'd be reduced to one of the Primitive *Cœnacula*, and turn'd into an upper Room, the leaſt valued thing in the Pariſh, except the poor unfortunate Creature that Officiates in it.

Who when he ought to be a Perſon of Eminence and Character, if but one (for many times ſeveral Churches with no ſmall appurtenant Flocks, Burden enough for two or three able Miniſters, lies upon the inſufficent ſhouldiers of one perhaps beardleſs, and hardly yet Reverend Divine of the

loweſt Form, or moping Melancholick) has too often his qualifications approaching nearer to the nature of his Income than of his Charge, and accordingly ſuits his care, not to the Numerouſneſs and neceſſity of his Flock, but to the Milk they yield him, habited like a Son of St. *Francis*, and ready to live with St. *John Baptiſt* in the Wilderneſs upon Wild-honey and Locuſts, if they cou'd catch hem, whom the Importunities of Poverty and the cries of a Family find too much work for in providing Bread, than to attend the Edification of his people, were he capable; and being thus, 'tis no marvel that nothing at laſt is done decently, duly, or effectually, but the legal Congregation is in a manner broke. If ſome Neighbouring Gentleman with his Family don't happen to keep the Church in countenance, every Man runs his own different way: The Children of the poorer ſort are trained up to Barbariſm, to be the future Inmates of Goals and Pendents on Gibbets, whil'ſt the Parents loſing that little Chriſtian knowledge they had, meet 'em half the way; the Senſe of God, the influence of Religion are loſt and gon, and Humanity it ſelf threatens not to ſtay much longer behind 'em, or at leaſt Schiſmatical Teachers make their Market, ſhare the Flock amongſt 'em, and mark up each his Sheep in their own Name; the wealthier and more ſubſtantial, that are more ſolid and ſober minded, ſhift for themſelves perhaps to a Neighbouring Preſtbyterian Conventicle; and

and who can wonder, or almoſt blame 'em for running from a Conſtitution by which they find themſelves firſt abandon'd, and ſo left to the wide World, as in a manner to be bid to take care of themſelves, Stript by thoſe that have undertook their Religious proviſion of that which is to furniſh it, and put under an improbability of them or their Poſterity's having ſuch Spiritual Guide and Inſtructions, as is proper to make Chriſtianity attain its ends.

That this or worſe is truly the State and poſture of Religion by means of Impropriations in many of our greateſt Pariſhes needs no other proof but to appeal to ſuch as live near but one or two of 'em, as no body can live far from 'em.

All our Attempts for Religious Unity are vain, and inconſiſtent, whilſt the Eſtabliſhment labours under this diſadvantage; Proclamations and Acts of Parliament for ſuppreſſion of Immorality and Prophanneſs will all fall ſhort, till one Act of Parliament that will do more than all, remove the grand Cauſe, either by repurchaſing the alienated Tithes; or providing ſome other way fair and equivalent Maintenances for ſo many large Congregations of Chriſtian Souls that groan for want of it, which as it wou'd of its ſelf be a great Bleſſing, ſo in all likelyhood would bring down many more.

If from the Sight of our *Pauls*, and dazling their Eyes with its over-grown Magnificence we were to lead ſtrangers round the

Kingdom, and ſhew 'em in our pillaged Pariſhes the Church's Poverty and the woful pickle the Eſtabliſhed Religion lyes in, they muſt think us an Hypocritical Nation, that wou'd fain make a Show only of a flouriſhing care of Religion, and ſparing no coſt about God's Worſhip, and that like a Brazen Strumpet takes only care to adorn her Front, but matters not how 'tis leſs in Sight.

For my own part I'me ſure I have no other View in ſpeaking but my Countrie's common Good and Religious Edification, according to my ſenſe of things, and Truth, without ſordid Proſpects, ſelfiſh ends, or partial inclination towards my Brethren and Companions of my Cloth, to whom I nevertheleſs own my ſelf not wanting in all Good wiſhes of increaſe of Proſperity, one of which amongſt others is, That where it conſiſts in them, they wou'd not add to the Number of the Examples of ill-ſupply'd Vicarages by Scandalous Maintenance, ſo pernicious to the Eſtabliſh'd Church, and their own Order, nor fatten themſelves with parochial Spoils without juſt proviſions, without which, notwithſtanding the Difference of Character, and the ends of Prebends, they are brought to look too like what we charge as Sacrilege in Lay Hands, and ſharing in the Booty, by reliſhing the ſame Morſels upon the ſame Terms, and ſo much more unnaturally ſtill, as 'tis preying upon their own Body.

Auth. ib.

Auth. ib. But the Good of the Society beingthe only Reaſon from the Magiſtrate's having any Power over Mens Properties, I can't ſee why he ſhou'd deprive his Subjects of any part thereof for the Maintenance of ſuch Opinions that have no tendency that way. —— And *ib.* For my part I muſt own I know not how to anſwer their Arguments, who ſay that Men might as well be preſum'd to have impower'd the Legiſlature to chooſe ſpeculative Opinions, for 'em as to take from 'em any part of their property for the ſupport of thoſe Opinions and that if it be the higheſt injuſtice to force Men to profeſs ſuch ſpeculative Opinions as they don't believe, it can't ſavour much of Juſtice to make 'em contribute to the Support of 'em. And *ib.* And therefore they conclude that People are injured when they are forc'd to labour and toyl, not for their common benefit, but for maintaning ſuch notions as the Publick receives no Advantage by.

E Contr. To tell us tis Injuſtice in the Magiſtrate to make Men contribute to the Support of a Religion or Church they will not be Members of, is but in others words, that the Diſſenters from our Eſtabiſhment for their further incouragment, ought to pay no Tithes, Church Rates or Dues, and out of his profound Zeal for the Church of

England Eſtabliſh'd by Law, he gives us to underſtand, that the Maintenance of its Doctrine is the maintenance of Opinions that have no tendency to the Good of the Society; no way contribute to the Publick Good; Notions the Publick receive no advantage by, leaving upon the Legiſlature for Supporting them the Charge of high Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, and this upon ſo Good grounds that he knows not what to ſay in their vindication. And 'tis pity that it is to far beneath their dignity to give him Satisfaction, as he deſerves. For my part, I think the Gentleman has the leaſt Reaſon of any other to be puzled with this grand Difficulty. For by his own Hypotheſis, the Magiſtrate having a Right to ordain and appoint Miniſters for his Subjects, and not they for themſelves, muſt have a Right to oblige 'em to ſtand to that Appointment, and contribute to their Maintenance, as much as to pay Taxes or diſcharge the Civil Liſt, ſince they are put upon the ſame Foot with other Officers of the State: And 'tis impoſſible that any that diſſent from the Laws and Eſtabliſhment according to him, can have any Miniſtry at all, or Right to any; becauſe being derived from the Magiſtrate, he can't be preſum'd to impower or ordain any, to act by his Commiſſion in contradiction to, or deviation from his own Laws and Government.

And ſince the Author will have it thought Oppreſſion to make Men contribute to maintain

tain Opinions that tend not to the Good of the Publick, and ſince 'tis the Church of *England* that is ſtruck at, where we are to underſtand this Injuſtice is now practiſed, he wou'd have done well to have explain'd himſelf. *Firſt*, What Notions, Opinions, and ſpeculative Points they are which he means. *Secondly*, To have prov'd that they do not advance the Publick Good and Happineſs.

When he ſays, that the Notions *&c.* that Men are ſo Injuriouſly forc't to contribute to the ſupport of, advance not the Publick Good, nor tend that way, he cannot mean that they are ſo ſimply in their own Nature uncapable of doing ſo, that 'tis on all hands confeſt and agreed that they can't do it, and that it is not pretended; but his meaning is, that they that do not believe and like 'em, and are forc't to help to ſupport 'em think ſo, whilſt thoſe that Eſtabliſh 'em think otherwiſe; for he can't imagine but the Legiſlature, tho they might be miſtaken, yet propos'd ſome Benefit to the Society, by incouraging them, however barren they have prov'd of it, or productive of the contrary.

And the Queſtion therefore is brought to this; Whether 'tis Injuſtice in the Magiſtrate to make Men contribute to Maintain thoſe Opinions, which he thinks for the good of the Society, but they think otherwiſe; which himſelf has determin'd juſt before he

he ſtarted it; for he tells us, that the Magiſtrate is to ſee that all Doctrines are to the utmoſt inculcated that make for the Publick Good; that is, which he judges do make for it, or thinks may do ſo, which ſuppoſes him Judge what Doctrines do do ſo, and that for the promotion of that good, and conſequently of ſuch Doctrines when they are thought ſuch, Mens Properties are neceſſarily ſubjected to ſuch Laws as their Rulers ſhall make about it; ſo that according to himſelf, Mens entring into Political Societies makes 'em liable to contribute to maintain all Notions and Opinions whatever, that the Magiſtrate thinks for the Publick Good, whatever they think to the contrary.

All the acts of the Legiſlature are ſuppoſed for the Publick Good, and are accordingly to be complyed with, by every Member of Societies, where Conſcience does not evidently teſtify that Compliance unlawful, by a Prohibition from a Superior, that is, Divine Authority. Now ſuppoſing the utmoſt that can be ſuppoſed, that this reſerv'd Right, of Conſcience, or private Judgment, is ſuch that the Magiſtrate has no Right to force Men either actively, or even paſſively to obey his determinations againſt its Dictates, yet ſtill its own Plea does oblige Private Conſcience, to contribute to ſupport any Notions, and Opinions, tho' it does not aſſent either to their Truth or Utility, which the Magiſtrate thinks, fit Authoritatively

ritatively to encourage, and pay towards the Maintenance of every particular Members Opinion whatſoever, becauſe 'tis but contributing that to the Society which it requires the Society to contribute to it; for Private Conſcience demands to be protected in its liberty of Opinion and Religious Profeſſion by the Magiſtrate, tho' it knows both to be as contrary to the Magiſtrate's, and the Publick Judgment and Conſcience, as what they maintain is to its own. Now this Protection ariſes to it out of what is contributed from each particular Member's Property, to enable the Magiſtrate to afford it; and if a privateMan is injured, by being made to pay to the ſupport of Opinions he does not believe or aſſent to, then the whole Society is injured by him, by the ſame Rule in granting him at their common expence, Security and Protection for his Opinions; and ſuch a Man is certainly the moſt unfair and unreaſonable Conſcienced Creature imaginable, that denies to pay to any, what he thinks no Robbery to receive from all.

He that denies to pay to maintain the Opinions the Society thinks fit to encourage, does in effect, and as far as in him lies, Perſecute the whole Society, by witholding that, which if they withheld from him, he wou'd find it to be Perſecution.

There is certainly a greater Deference due from Private Judgments to the Publick, than from the Publick to Private: Now if the Publick Judgment ought to defer ſo much

much to private ones, as to permit them each to enjoy their own Perſuaſion, and undiſturbedly take each their own way. Private Judgments in Decency, if not in Duty, ought to be equally ready to make the publick Perſuaſion as eaſie, which Perſuaſion tho' it be ſuperſtitious, their contributing what Authority demands, make them not acceſſary to the Guilt of advancing of it, ſince they neither command it, perſuade it, nor conſent to it: For what they contribute is not from any reſpect to the Opinion, but as a Debt paid to the Order and Peace of Society, as an act of Submiſſion to God's Command and Inſtitution in Government, to which, if their own Judge, Conſcience, forbids them to pay the Duty of Active Obedience, and the Magiſtrate inſiſt no farther on their Paſſive, than is conſiſtent with him, and the Publick's injoying the ſame Conſcientious Privilege, by reciprocal Contribution from them which they injoy from the others, they can't make a more juſt and cheap Acknowledgment.

Auth. 27. The tacking the Prieſts Preferments to ſuch Opinions, not only makes 'em in moſt Nations right or wrong to Eſpouſe them, and to invent a Thouſand Sophiſtical and Knaviſh Methods of defending 'em, to the infinite prejudice of Truth; but is the occaſion that Humanity is in a mannner extinct amongſt thoſe Chriſtians, who

who by Reaſon of ſuch Articles are divided into different Sects: Their Prieſts burning with implacable Hatred, and ſtirring up the ſame Paſſions in all they can influence, againſt the Oppoſers of ſuch Opinions.

E Contr. That the Author is no Tacker of Preferments to Prieſts, we have already ſeen, but of Poverty, and of all the Reproaches he can think of, which he fails not to Tack to 'em, upon all occaſions, treating not only the Chriſtian Miniſtry of the Church of *England*, but the Church Catholick, in the moſt Scurrilous and Inhumane manner here. Indeed, when ever he but happens to croſs upon the word Prieſt, he ſhews himſelf mov'd, in ſo uncommon a manner, that leſs Charitable Perſons might be apt to think it a Symptom of that Diſtemper of which Stories go, that thoſe that are under the Poſſeſſions of it, can't bear the ſight of a Godly Miniſter, whoſe Appearance uſes to bring the Fit ſtronger upon 'em.

And 'tis with very great Propriety that the Author takes upon him to lament here the Diviſions of Chriſtians upon the account of Indifferent Opinions; when the Right of their ſo Dividing themſelves, is all the while the Fundamental Principle he is aſſerting, making it a natural and inſeparable Right for every Man in a Society to believe and profeſs in contradiction to the reſt, and his

his decliming againſt the Articles of Religion, and our Church agreed on for the avoiding diverſity of Opinions, and Eſtabliſhing Conſent, as the cauſe of Diviſion, is a Complication of Contradictions, both to his Hypotheſis and Profeſſion as a Church-Man.

In his laſt Section he has been charging the Laws with Iniquity, their Makers and Executors with Injury, Oppreſſion, and what not: Here the Charge is renew'd, and carry'd yet further, whilſt Tacking Preferments to Opinions is made the cauſe of all Diviſions, Uncharitableneſs, Wickedneſs of PRINCE and People, in moſt Nations, and our own to be ſure for one; or in plain *Engliſh*, The BOOK of COMMON-PRAYER, the OATH of SUPREMACY, the TEST, the THIRTY NINE ARTICLES more particularly pointed to, and whatever elſe the Legiſlature has made requiſite for Men to aſſent to, as Qualifications for Preferment in Church or State, are miſchievous Impoſitions.

For his Whim of not Tacking Prieſt Preferments to Opinions, 'tis certainly a very poor and idle Conceit, for either he wou'd have an Act of Reſumption utterly to take away Glebe, Tithe, and all ſetled Church Revenues, and have the Miniſtry precariouſly depend on the Laities Benevolence for their daily Bread, which ſeems in ſome meaſure what he wou'd be at. But were it ſo

as

as he wou'd have it, yet ſtill whatever Miniſters had, wou'd be no leſs Tackt to ſome Opinions or other, and they wou'd ſtill lye under the ſame Temptations, he pretends they now do, of Eſpouſing thoſe Opinions they each get by.

Or if he wou'd have certain Maintenances ſtill left appropriate to 'em, and thoſe Maintenances not Tackt to Opinions, then either his meaning is, that he wou'd not have one ſort of Prieſts ſweep all, but that thoſe of different Religious Societies, ſhou'd equally come in for their ſhares, ſo that every Man's Tithe, &c. ſhou'd go to the Miniſter of that Society he profeſt himſelf a Member of, or to himſelf if he pleas'd to be his own Ghoſtly Father, and that the Glebe ſhou'd be divided into as many Shares as each Pariſh produced Sects, caſting Lots for the Church, or taking it by Turns; yet ſtill Preferments wou'd be no leſs Tackt to Opinions than now, but rather more, as their wou'd be more Opinions to Tack them to.

Or elſe his Project is, if he wou'd have the Clergies Revenues continue as they are, yet not Tackt to Opinions, that he would have all diſtinctions of Religion, Church-Party, and Sect, thrown up, and that Articles, Confeſſions of Faith, Doctrines, and Principles being lookt on as paultry Notions, and inſignificant Speculations, Rights, Ceremonies, Diſcipline, Modes and Manners of Worſhip,

Worſhip, being proclam'd indifferent things ſhou'd no longer breed diſturbance or make diſtinction amongſt Men, but that Mankind being peaceably blended together in one Religious *Chaos*, the ſame Set of Prieſts ſhou'd ſerve 'em all, who being like the Magiſtrate their Ordainer, equally diſpoſed to all Perſuaſions, and of none, ſhould occaſionally ſuit themſelves to their different Worſhips.

But which way ſoever he wou'd have his Untackt Maintenances diſpoſed, ſuppoſing the Religious *Babel*, he calls his Society, finiſhed, with a Magiſtrate to his Mind, treating all his Subjects alike with regard to Perſuaſion, yet ſtill he is far from curing thoſe Heats and Violencies, he is pretending to remedy, of Men againſt each other, and Diviſions upon account of Opinions, unleſs he has prevailed with the Subjects as well as Magiſtrate, to lay aſide with their ſeveral Perſuaſions, not only all prejudice, but Zeal and Paſſion, otherwiſe all is in vain.

If Preferments and Advantages annext to Doctrines be what makes Prieſts eſpouſe them, then certainly the beſt way to cure the Diviſions he pretends to be ſorry for, is by his own Argument, to Tack Preferments to ſome, and to lay all others under diſadvantages; for adding, not only impunity, but equal Incouragment to all, is the way to have all Eſpous'd with the ſame Violence he finds fault with in ſome.

In a word, It can't be a Crime in the Magiſtrate, to Tack Rewards to thoſe Opinions, which

which he finds God has Tackt Heaven to, or Puniſhments to thoſe he has Tackt Hell to. Is that his way indeed of befriending Truth, to ſtrip it home to its Naked Self? Whil'ſt falſe Opinions have thro' the World their ſeveral Honours and Preferments to invite Men to imbrace and aſſent to them, Truth only muſt have nothing added to it. The end of Tacking Preferments to Doctrines and Opinions is to prejudice Men in their Favour, to ingage 'em more deeply to eſpouſe them; which if 'tis not done, the Lawgiver's Intention is not anſwer'd, becauſe falſe Religions every where make uſe of all Arts to allure and terrifie, and blind Zealots compaſs Sea and Land to draw Proſelytes; therefore the Sons of Truth are with equal warmth and concern to tempt Men to that: If falſe Worſhips wou'd begin and Lead the way, by laying aſide every where all means of Attraction; were Man's Will and Faculties hung in an even Ballance, indifferently to turn to Truth or Falſehood, then it were time enough to talk of removing the Impediments of impartial Choice.

Again; If Rewards are not to be fixt to Opinions, and Bribes and Awes are ſo Sacredly to be avoided, for the ſame reaſon all Arguments, Motives and verbal Perſuaſives which are equivalents, ought to be abſtain'd from.

Leaving the Maſs of Mankind to their impartial Examination, is it for thoſe to whom

God in ſome meaſure has committed their Conduct, to leave 'em like Sheep in a Wilderneſs, each to ramble his own way, and thoſe who are not capable of making a due Judgment, muſt be left like bewilder'd Men, where a Hundred Ways meet, Ninety Seven of which are indiſputably wrong, who yet muſt have no impulſe to thoſe that are confeſſedly ſafe. For my part I think where Truth is aſcertain'd by Conſent of Chriſtians, Awes and Bribes cannot be too powerfully laid on, nor Falſehood equally manifeſt —— be too much loaded with Inconveniences within Life. And for the Objection, that this courſe will advance Superſtition, becauſe the greateſt part of Mankind lies in Error, the Method being every where practiſed muſt turn to ill account on Truth's ſide in the main; 'tis quite contrary, and for that reaſon Truth ought the more to make uſe of that Method of affixing Rewards to Opinions, becauſe Error does it, and uſe that in the behalf of true Religion which but too ſucceſsfully propagates falſe ones; it's Succeſs miſapply'd ſhews both its Neceſſity and Utility, and the abuſe of it is no more a diſcouragment to Magiſtrates to exerciſe it, than 'tis to a Judge to do his Office, and determine what's Right and Wrong, becauſe ſome ſo doing, either wilfully or ignorantly, have Oppreſt and Condemn'd Innocence.

Auth. 28.

Auth. 28. 'Tis not his (a Man's) joyning to it (a Church) Yeſterday, which obliges him to continue in it to Day, but a conſtant perſonal liking; unleſs you ſuppoſe Churches made like Traps, eaſie to admit one, but when once he is in there muſt he always ſtick for the Pleaſure or Profit of the Trap-ſetters.

E Contr. 'Tis, or was at leaſt a Principle of the Independents not to bind themſelves for the future to their preſent Judgment and Practice, but keep ſtill a Reſerve for Alteration and Retraction, from whom the Author has borrow'd it with many others, as a proper Piece to ſow into his Patchwork Divinity, in order to make the Profeſſors of Religion as ridiculous as the Religion they are to profeſs, by drawing them into the neceſſity of coming under the moſt fooliſh Character that can be, making a Chriſtian the moſt frekiſh deſultory Creature imaginable, alway's hopping from Church to Church, without Conſtancy, Certainty, Stability, Solidity, contrary to the Tenor of Scripture Repreſentation, where irreligious Perſons are repreſented wavering like Waves, wandering Stars, &c. and Commands are given to hold faſt ones Profeſſion, not to be ſoon ſhaken, not to be Children toſſed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of Doctrine, like empty Casks or Feathers upon the Wa-

ter, blown here and there as the Paſs-time of the Air; to be ſtedfaſt, unmoveable, eſtabliſhed, rooted, ground'd, &c. And tho' joyning a Man's ſelf, as he ſays, to a Church, is no Obligation to abide always in it, yet to have Convictions and Reconvictons come ſo thick and faſt, that a Man changes his mind in Religion oftner than his Linnen, is not eaſily reconcilable with the aforeſaid Directions, and lays ſuch unſteady Creatures under ſhrew'd ſuſpicions of being either Fools or Hypocrites; for a and WiſeMan can hardly be ſuppoſed tomake ſuch ſhort lived Choices in any thing of Moment, much leſs, joyning himſelf to a Church with ſuch tottering Reſolutions.

And by calling Churches Traps, he has ſpoke nearer Truth than he was aware of, ſince the Church is liken'd to a Net, and the Apoſtles are ſaid to catch Men; and St. *Paul* talks of catching the *Corinthians* with Guile. God Almighty does deſcend to bait and tole our fugitive Faculties with all the Arts of Innocent Circumvention, and does not let Men once caught and got in, eaſily break out from his Church, unleſs it be ſuch wild Bulls, whoſe natural Fierceneſs when incloſed, will rather break, if they can, the Net in pieces, than ſubmit to bear its Confinement.

Auth. ib. So that all Men in forming themſelves into Societies for the Worſhip of

of God, are in a natural State, neither Prince nor Prieſt having any more Power over the Peaſant than he has over either of them.

E Contr. So that here's all his Magiſtrate's mighty religious Authority vaniſht again of a ſudden, I mean his Power in the Church and Eccleſiſtical Supremacy, and he with his Prieſts that he had ordain'd, are now brought down to the Level with Peaſants, with whom we are now to look upon 'em, met together upon the Square all a Church-making; a very good work doubtleſs they muſt make of it, when Men, Women, and Children, are all Directors in Chief, and equally Architects, and ſo unfortunately ſo, that tho' never ſo incapable of Church-framing themſelves, yet can neither leave it to thoſe that underſtand it better, nor be ruled by a Majority if they wou'd, nor oblige themſelves one Day, to ſtand to a Church tho' of their own makeing.

Auth. ib. —— Tho' no Church, more than any other voluntary Society, can hold together, except the Members agree on ſome place on the Perſons to Officate, and ſuch-like Circumſtances; yet none has a Right to Preſcribe to another, but every one has for himſelf a Negative, &c.

E Contr. Which words are heavy laden with three dangerous Untruths.

The *Firſt* of which is, that the Church is a Voluntary Society; in Conſequence of which,

Sccondly, That the Members of it are by Equal Right to Authorize and Appoint Perſons to Officiate, *&c.*

Thirdly, That none have a Right to Preſcribe to another, but every one has for himſelf a Negative.

1ſt. The Church is not a Voluntary Society.

A Voluntary Society is a Community originally formed, conſiſting, and directed by Powers equally contributed from all 'its Members, of whom having no other hold but their own Inclinations, they are therefore free to go off from the Body, as they came on at Pleaſure, being tyed together by no Moral Obligation, and to be put under no Reſtraints, but what themſelves pleaſe to admit of; being therefore an Imperfect Society.

If this be the Character, and theſe be the Properties of a Voluntary Society, there need no other advances againſt the Church's being ſo, than Applying to the Church of *England*,

England, Suppoſe, for Inſtance, the ſeveral parts of the Deſcription, and ſee how ill they agree to it.

1ſt. A Voluntary Community, is a Community formed by an Equality of Powers, and not by one, or any Supereminent. But was the Church of *England* ſo Formed? Or does ſhe ſo Conſiſt? Or is ſhe ſo Govern'd? Or can the Author tell of any Church that ever had ſuch a Formation The Church of *England* ſo far as ſhe is Catholick, ſo far as ſhe is the Church of Chriſt, is of Divine Inſtitution, formed by Chriſt, ſo far as ſhe is the *Engliſh* Church of Chriſt, and a diſtinct religious Community of her ſelf; by the addition of Humane Polities, and limitations for her more convenient Subſiſtence. 'Tis well known how and by whom ſhe was Formed, and is Govern'd; by our Kings and their Parliaments, and not equally by her Members, and is not therefore a Voluntary Society; and conſequently being not truly Form'd, and Guided as a Church ſhou'd be, is with the other Churches of the Chriſtian World, arraign'd and ſentenc'd to be an Unlawful Conſtitution.

2dly, A Voluntary Society is an Imperfect Society; nay, the moſt Imperfect of all that are call'd ſo. The Conſequences of which Imperfection are,

1ſt. A natural incapableneſs of Polity and Publick Regimen, proper Juriſdiction, or Law Humane or Divine.

2dly, A ſelf-inſufficiency for Conſervation, an unaptneſs to continue 'its ſelf in Being.

1ſt. A Voluntary Society is incapable of Polity and Publick Regimen, *&c.*

Now this part of the Character is ſtill leſs competent to the Church than the other; for the Church of *England* as every other Church always has had her Polity, her Laws, her Canons, and the Eſſential Notes of a Perfect Community, and is charged therefore in this Article by the Author, with being an unnatural Religious Conſtitution, as her Conſtitutors and Governours that have took upon them to uſe this unnatural force upon the free Members of this Voluntary Body that ſhou'd be, by playing the Legiſlators, and coactively Impoſing where they had no Right to do it, are (what he ſaid the Clergy were for doing of, *Sect.* 35.) either the moſt Ignorant of all Mankind in not underſtanding the nature of a Church, or the moſt Ambitious, or rather Tyrannical in indeavouring knowingly, and deſignedly, to Impoſe on the People in a thing of the greateſt conſequence. As the People themſelves are no leſs chargeable with Stupidity, in knowing

knowing no better all this while, but thinking all their Rulers did, to be good and valid, letting themſelves be bound like Chickens with Chalk, by their impoſing and preſcribing Governours, by Injunctions, Canons, Acts of Parliament, *&c.*

'Tis one of the kindeſt things however he has done to the Clergy, that he has Honoured them with no worſe Company in the Scandals of Tyranny and Impoſition charg'd upon them, than their SOVEREIGN and Legiſlature, undivided from whom may they always Err, when they do. The kindeſt thing again that he has done for the Legiſlature is, That he has charg'd them with no other Guilt, but that which he has alſo involved the whole Church Catholick in, Reſcinding together with their Acts, not only all other National and Provincial Determinations of an Eccleſiaſtical Nature, but the Acts of all the Oecumenical Councils, adding the firſt Four to the reſt.

A Second Imperfection of a voluntary Society, is a Self-Inſufficiency to continue its Being, and want of what's neceſſary for Conſervation, by the Body having no right to retain its Members, continually therefore liable to be broke and diſſolv'd, having no other Pledges for its ſecurity. but the fickle Inclinations of Men, under no greater Obligations to keep together, than any ſecular Herd, or Companies of Stock Jobbers, or People met at a Market or Fair

Fair to buy and ſell, who will ſo long continue a Society till each Man's Convenience transfer him elſe where. And if the Church be ſuch a Flux and unſetled Body, made up of perpetual Goers and Comers, being Built upon a Rock, is certainly the moſt improper Emblem her Conſtitution can be repreſented by, which wou'd be much more truly and expreſſively ſhewn by picturing her like Fortune upon a Wheel fixt upon Revolution.

But Contrary to this, the Catholick Church, being ordain'd for a perpetual and indefectible Society, is conſequently every way the moſt perfect, free from all the natural Cauſes of Diſſolution, and ſet out with all the Adjuments of Strength and Confirmation, thar Perpetuity ariſes from, by being well compacted, and cloſely held together, the Limbs to the Head, and Parts and Members to the Limbs, and mutually, amongſt themſelves, by the ſtricteſt Laws of Moral Union; having a Right to admit and retain Members, and they none to refuſe or go off. For a Community that neceſſarily muſt be, Men muſt as neceſſarily be of. Now whatever Rights of Perpetuation the Catholick Church has, particular Churches, being its conſtituent Parts, conſider'd as Parts, muſt alſo have amongſt 'em, and therefore a Right of Retaining viſible Members, amongſt which the Catholicks Inviſible ones do ly conceal'd.

The

The Members Right to diſſolve one particular Viſible Church, holds the ſame to diſſolve all, and ſo the Catholick Church its ſelf, which Men can't be Members of, but by being Incorporated into ſome one of its viſible Parts; for the Author's Right of abandoning Churches does not confine its ſelf to a migration from Church to Church only, within the bounds of the Catholick, but is an unlimited Right of formal and profeſt Apoſtacy from *Chriſt* if Men pleaſe, which if Churches had no Right to Puniſh, yet Civil Magiſtrates being Chriſtian, in whoſe Societies they are lodged and entertain'd, muſt both puniſh and prevent, as Guardians of either Table, becauſe ſuch an Apoſtacy is a greater breach of the whole Body of Morality at once, than the Violation of all the Ten Commandments, and deſtroy that note of the Church's being a Voluntary Society, as inconſiſtent with Civil Duty.

Secondly. 'Tis falſe that the Members are by equal Right to Authorize and agree upon Perſons to Officiate, the Author having got a Crew together, and made 'em form themſelves into what he calls a Church, his next care is how to help 'em to a little Religion, as very neceſſary for a Church, of which they are altogether as yet unprovided, and as ſoon as ever therefore they can agree upon't they are to have places of Worſhip, and other Circumſtances, ſuch

ſuch as Rites, Ceremonies, Sacraments, Creeds, Articles, *&c.* and Miniſters too as ſoon as they can hit upon't, who by Authority convey'd from them are firſt, I Suppoſe to Baptize this Church (which 'tis high time ſhou'd be done) then to Preach and Adminiſter the Sacraments to 'em, for the Members at laſt are to agree upon the Perſons that are to Officiate, and and the Magiſtrate's Ordaining and Authorizing Miniſters to Inſtruct his Subjects, is all out of doors again, as I obſerved before, every Member having equal Right with the Magiſtrate himſelf, and the *Browniſt* has now Supplanted the Eraſtian with this Addition to *Brown*, that however Popular, Anarchical, Confuſed, *Brown* made Chriſtian Church Government, by Seating it in the Body of the People, as its firſt Subject, yet he ſuppoſed the People entitled to it, as they were the *Cœtus fidelium*, and the Members of Chriſt, and that it was Derived and Communicated to them from JESUS CHRIST, who was acknowledged its Fountain, and left to be Head of his Church ſtill: But our Author has made the Members of a Chriſtian Society the Subjects of all Church Power, not by any poſitive Grant or Derivation from Chriſt, but by natural Laws being not made ſo, but Born and Bred ſo, by a Right radically and fundamentally Inherent, and like a kind Chriſtian Aſſerter

ſerter, has not only depoſed Chriſt, from having any part of the Government of his Church upon his Shoulders, but quite ſhut him out of it, and barred the Door againſt him, Separated the Body ſo from the Head, that the Powers they act by are neither from him nor exerciſed under him, or in his Name, or the Body acted by his Spirit, any more than thoſe Powers were ſo, by which the *Weſt Indies* Sacrificed to VITZLI PUTZLI, being indeed both the ſame.

Brown made all the People equal Judges, ſo does he, he gave them each for themſelves a Negative, ſo does he: But that Exploded Heretick talks much more like a Chriſtian, in that he held the Head ſtill, which is Chriſt, by Methods dependently from whom, he let the Community into that Equality of Church Power and Office, which he ſaw by Nature they cou'd not have, and not by claim, as of natural Inheritance, to which every Man is admitted by Birth, without Grace or Gift, antecedent to his Title to Chriſt's Memberſhip by new Birth.

Againſt this *Browniſtical* Opinion of Church Power being Equally lodged in all Chriſtians in its better ſenſe, and flowing to Church Officers, not immediately from the Head, but from the Body, let it be conſider'd; it is inconſiſtent with the Church, either Collectively, or Diſtributively and Congregationally, being Chriſt's Body, becauſe

cauſe it deſtroys the immediate Organization of it from the Head, from whom the whole Body fitly joyn'd together, and compacted by that which every Joynt ſupplyeth, according to the effectual working in the meaſures of every part, maketh increaſe of the Body unto edifying of it ſelf in Love, and from which all the Body by Joynts and Bands having Nouriſhment miniſtred, and knit together, increaſeth with the increaſe of God; for if there be that Equality of Power and Office vertually lodged in every Member of a Chriſtian Community from the Head, then it is not a Body, according to St. *Paul*, becauſe every part has the ſame Office, and the Eye may ſay unto the Hand, I have no need of thee, and both the ſame to the Feet, becauſe every Members is equally every thing, or indeed their is no Eye, or Hand or Feet, to ſay ſo to each other; for each Member being one and the ſame every thing, they are all of 'em nothing of a Body, for being all one (kind of) Members where is the Body, which is a regular Conſtitution of variety of Parts to different Uſes.

And Chriſtians digeſting themſelves afterwards by agreement into ſuch a Society as amounts to a Body, will not do the buſineſs, becauſe there is ſuch a diſſolution of Unity then, between Chriſt and the Church, as 'tis his Body, which muſt be in a Political Capacity, as the relation and cloſe connexion

nexion between Head and Body can by no means admit of; for the Head is not the Head of that Body, whoſe Organization runs not immediately from it; nor is a Body naturally the Body of that Head, into which as a Body it does not immediately grow; and if the Church only Politically conſider'd is Chriſt's Body, then from Chriſt it muſt have ſo much immediate Political Formation, by a Subordinate variety of Parts, as to make it a Body, without which from him it wou'd at beſt be but like a Heathen Mercury, a fine and noble Head, upon a maim'd and inform Trunk.

Thirdly, 'Tis falſe that none have a Right to preſcribe to another, but that every one has for himſelf a Negative.

Or to repeat this in the more ample Form of Words that come juſt after. Author *ib.*: Here is perfect Equality; for no Man has any more Power over another than another has over him; and as no Man is capable of being repreſented by another, every one muſt judge for himſelf of the Forms and Modes of Worſhip, the Doctrines, Rites and Ceremonies of any Church, not only before he joyns himſelf to it, but afterwards.

The Sum and Subſtance of which goodly Divinity is in plain *Engliſh* this, That there is no ſuch thing as Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, either in Pope, Councils, Prince, Parliament Biſhops, Preſbytery, or People, in an Aſſociated

ciated Senſe, but that every Member of every Church next under God is ſupreme Moderator and Church-Maker; or that the Church of *England* (and all other Chriſtian Churches) is no Church, her Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions meer Nullities, her legal Eſtabliſhment no Eſtabliſhment which any Man need take notice of, but with a good Conſcience and without Breach of Duty to God or Man, may act in contradiction to, tho' he have nothing to ſay againſt it, becauſe it lays no Obligation, nor can bear any Juſt Sanction; nay, tho' he like it he is yet bound to oppoſe it in the way 'tis injoyn'd as a Conſcience-inſlaving Act, robing Men of their natural Rights, and Liberties in Religion, by which Impoſitions not only the Clergy have abuſed the People, but our Princes and Legiſlature much more, to the breaking of the Original Contract it ſelf, upon whom as Tyrants and Perſecutors he therefore ho-loe's the Mob, at the Head of whom we might have expected our Chriſtian Aſſerter, like a Religious *Maſſinello* leading 'em on againſt the QUEEN and Parliament, had his Doctrines their thorough Succeſs, demanding Relaxation from Spiritual Gabels and Impoſts, fired with Zeal under him their Engineer in Chief, of demoliſhing and levelling thoſe Babyloniſh works of Church Polity and Diſcipline, with the whole Diſpoſition of them by Laws, Canons, Rubricks Preſcripts, which in Confe-

deracy

deracy with the Hierarchy, they have raiſed againſt the Peaſants natural Right of an Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy.

Auth. ib. And therefore if the determining of ſuch things, as are neceſſary to be agreed on in order to form a Congregation for the Worſhip of God, is to be call'd Church-Government, 'tis impoſſible any Government can be more Popular, becauſe none are oblig'd, even by a Majority; but thoſe who can't go with 'em, are to form themſelves into a Church after the beſt manner they can; and two or three thus gather'd together in the Name of our Saviour, have the promiſe of his being with 'em.

E Contr. So that the increaſe of Diviſions, is only the multiplication of Churches, and the breaches of Unity, the Mothers of new Religious Communities, as if the Church conſiſted of Similar parts, ſo that every bit broke off from it, was ſtill a Church, and every Member of Chriſt's Body, a Body of its ſelf.

But the Prophane Scatterers of Chriſt's Body, ſhou'd conſider that every Schiſmatical Fragment broke off from a Church, is as far from being a Church, as two or three Out-Laws from a Society, are from being a civil Society.

As the Church has but one Head, which is Chriſt, ſo is it but one Body, whoſe Limbs every where diffuſed, are National or

Particular Churches, regularly digeſted under a Succeſſion of Officers, and maintaining a Succeſſion of Doctrine, according to Divine Appointment. Now as theſe Limbs of the great Body the Church Catholick and Univerſal, being firſt knit together by Fundamental Conſent are ſo united to Chriſt their Head, which each has no better Argument to prove its Adheſion to, than to ſhew its ſelf not ſingular, by agreement with the reſt in Terms of open Communion, or by appeal to the common Standard and Eſtabliſh'd Articles of Connexion and Unity, ſo the particular Members conſtituting theſe Limbs, have no ſurer way to evidence themſelves parts of Chriſt's Body, than by ſhewing themſelves conſtituent parts of ſuch National Churches by Inheſion and cloſe Communion, by which, communication with Chriſt as their Head is mediately to be maintain'd, and by a charitable Conſolidation together with the Members of which, they are clearly and regularly Intitled to the Benefits of his Headſhip, from which if by Spiritual Abſciſſion they are cut off, or by Schiſmatical Diviſion cut themſelves off by Uncharitableneſs and Non-ſubmiſſion to lawful Rulers and Governours they ſhake their beſt Title of being Chriſt's Members; for Chriſt is not immediately the Head of Particulars, but mediately thro' their Union with the reſt; and as the Finger has no immediate Communication with the

Head

Head, but by being joyned to the Hand, and ſo made part of the Arm, from which broken 'tis no longer dependent on the Head, but the intercourſe ceaſes, and 'tis in vain for it to ſet up for a Body of it ſelf, or ſeparate Maintenance; or ſay I will derive to my ſelf Nouriſhment and Life from my Head a nearer way, without the intervention of mediate Union with this Arm, that I don't like, but will grow from the Head, and thence depend; for not cleaving to the Body in its natural ſite, and diſlocated, it becomes every where elſe not only incapable of Communion with the Head, but an Excreſcence and Deformity; ſo particular Chriſtians quitting their hold of Chriſt, their Head, in that part which Providence aſſigns for their natural Incorporation into his Body, will not ſo eaſily find a ſecond Recourſe.

And how induſtriouſly does the Author clear the way to Religious Diſtractions, by breaking not only Chriſtianity it ſelf, but every Church National, nay Congregational into endleſs Separations, inſtead of recommending Unity and ſtrengthening Religious Harmony and Conſent; like the Diſciple of that Maſter, whoſe Prayer to his Father for all thoſe ſhou'd profeſs his Religion, was, that they might be one, has not only infatuated, and diluted, but utterly diſſipated the very *Gluten*, and *Coagula* that keeps and obliges Men to Religious Concorporation, and makes 'em ſtick to

each other embodi'd in Religious Society, Leaving nothing but the untemper'd Mortar of each Man's Humour and Opinion, that's worſe than *arena ſine calce*, without any other Bond either of Peace, Charity, Neceſſity, or Duty, to hold the Members of Chriſtian Churches together, which it is every Man's Right to break looſe from, and Vote himſelf into a Church as ſoon as he pleaſes.

Auth. 29. What has not a little Contributed to make Men ſuppoſe there are Umpires, Judges or Governours, in Religious as well as civil Matters, is the Magiſtrate's annexing Profits and Privileges to the Teachers of his own Religion, excluſively of others; and determining who ſhall Licence thoſe that are to have theſe Advantages, and on what Qualifications; and who ſhall deprive 'em, and for what cauſes, and ſuch like.

E Contr. Magiſtrates annexing Profits and Privileges, has not a little contributed, as he ſays, to make Men ſuppoſe there are Umpires, Judges and Governours in Religion, and very well may it contribute to their ſo ſuppoſing, ſince I believe an Inſtance is not to be brought of any Government that has not took upon't to do it, and there can be no better demonſtration of its being an unqueſtion'd Right, than the Univerſality of the Practice.

Auth. bi;

Aut. ib. And the Chief of the Clergy being the Magiſtrates Deputies in this matter, and all of 'em in moſt Countries being generally ſpeaking, of the Religion to which they find Preferments annex'd, do in order, to bring others right or wrong into the ſame Sentiments, call this Eſtabliſhing their Religion and Church by Law; and make it Schiſm, and conſequently Damnation, not to be of the Church Eſtabliſh'd by Law.

E Contr. The Clergy call it Eſtabliſhing their Religion and Church by Law. Other Folks call it ſo as well as they I hope, and tis ſo, and I am ſorry the moſt Solemn Acts of our Legiſlature ſhould be thought of ſo little regard, that the very Name they are call'd by ſhou'd be irrided as a By-Word, and Nick Name.

And what poor Stuff is this with which he thinks to reproach the Clergy, that they are in moſt Countries of the Religion to which they find Preferments, annex'd; as if it cou'd be otherwiſe? What a Worthy Obſervation 'tis to tell us, that in *Turkey* Prieſts, generally ſpeaking, are *Mahometans*; in Popiſh Countries moſtly Papiſts, and in Proteſtant Nations, eſpecially in *Sweedland*, hardly a profeſt Prieſt to a Hundred that is ſo.

The Author indeed only has diſcover'd the Secret to have it otherwiſe; for he has cunningly found out what *Julian* the Apoſtate did long before him, that no Per-

ferment, no Prieſt: For tho' he wou'd have Prieſts *Chameleon* like, to be of no Colour but Occaſionally, according to their different application, yet he has not furniſh'd them with the other Property of that Creature Living upon Air; and by his Untacking Project he brings it about that a JESUIT or FRIER may PREACH, as he often has done before, if not fairly Bely'd, in a QUAKER'S MEETING, not in Diſguiſe but in his Robes and Habit, or a Jewiſh Prieſt Officiate in a Chriſtian *Paraſinagogue*, whilſt an *Antinomian*, may ſupply his place in Exchange, and by Letters demiſſory from the *Mufty* a *Turkiſh* Derviſe may be a moſt Chriſtian King's Confeſſor.

Beſides, his Obſervation does not anſwer; for 'tis plain that Prieſts were before Preferments, and Preferments firſt follow'd them, their Order and Opinions, before they follow'd the Preferments.

As to the Clergy making it Schiſm and Damnation not to be of the Church Eſtabliſh'd, 'tis made to their Hands; All Sin, is Damnable; Schiſm is a Sin, diſſenting from the Eſtabliſhment is Schiſm, all Religious diviſion with breach of Charity and Unity is Schiſm, on one ſide or 'tother, and our Church is either guilty of Schiſm, or our Diſſenters; but the Author by being a Church-Man, has forecloſed himſelf againſt ſaying that it is the Church; beſides,

all

all Diſobedience to Lawful Acts of Authority is Sin, but the Acts of Uniformity are Lawful Acts.

Auth. 30. By what's ſaid, 'tis plain how happy Human Society wou'd be, did not their Rulers Uſurp more Power than they cou'd be Inveſted with by their Subjects; who cou'd not oblige themſelves to aſſiſt 'em with their Force, except in ſuch caſes only as themſelves had a Right to uſe it in the State of Nature: And what thoſe Caſes are they cannot well be Miſtaken in;

And 31ſt. The Benefit wou'd be as great upon an Eccleſiaſtical as Civil account, if Sovereigns did not indeavour to extend their Power further than their People could Authorize them; for then all Perſecution, and all thoſe other innumerable Miſchiefs both to the Souls and Bodies of Men, which have been occaſion'd by not ſuffering 'em to Worſhip God according to the Dictates of their own Conſciences, wou'd have been avoided.

E Contr. Again, my Lords and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, your Humble Servant the Aſſerter ſays Have at you, and renews his Charge, his whole ſcope, as far as I can perceive, of the Words above written, and the Sections whence they were took, being no other, than to bring you, The NATION'S

RULERS into Hatred with the Subject, to make the whole Government Odious, the Church and Eccleſiaſtcal Conſtitution an inſufferable Tyranny, which he is not contented only to Inſinuate, for what Rulers are, thoſe that have Uſurpt more Power than Men were they willing cou'd inveſt them with, but you? Who are thoſe that have Betray'd the Higheſt Truſt by becoming the baſeſt Traitors, extending their Power farther than People, had they a mind, cou'd Authorize 'em, but you? To you and the Conſtitution all theſe Injuries and Indignities are offer'd and upon you; tho' he pretends you not meant, by his Doctrine all he ſays as fully lyes by Eſtabliſhing and Supporting the Conſtitution, notwithſtanding the Toleration, as if he had put down your Names at length: 'Tis you have took from the Subjects of *England* their Natural Rights, and 'tis againſt you the Trumpet is ſounded, and the Allarum given to the People of defending by Arms thoſe Natural Rights no Humane Power can have a Right to Deprive 'em of, (*Section* 21,) And you are thoſe Tyrants, that Fellow Citizens are oblig'd by the common Tyes of Humanity to aſſiſt one another in oppoſing, and the only way to regain your Credits, and be reinſtated in his Favour, is if (when more fully by and by, as he ſays he intends, he ſhall under Colour of taking the firſt Chriſtian Emperours to task, documentize you how to prevent Prieſtcraft) you ſhall take your Schooling as you ought, and mend upon it.

The

The Truth is, next to Prieſts, Princes, and Magiſtrates are leaſt the Author's Favourites, whom as often as his Rage gives him a ſpare moment from abuſing, he uſually takes under his kinder Conſideration, and Treats 'em as if he had 'em in his State of Nature after an Injury, leaving them juſt as he began with 'em, with all the Grievances, and innumerable Unhappineſſes that have befallen Human Society, put to their account.

Auth. 32. There's no Argument the Clergy can uſe to exclude the Magiſtrate from Power in Church Matters, which will not hold as much for Men's Natural Right againſt them. For will not their having a Right to preſcribe Terms of Communion for the People, make their Religion be at their diſpoſal, as much as it wou'd be at the Magiſtrate's if he had ſuch a Power? And if a Right in him to oblige the People to acquieſce in his Interpretation of Scripture, would be the ſame as a Right to make Scripture, can any fallible Set of Prieſts be Sovereign Interpreters of it?

E Contr. The Clergy don't exclude the Magiſtrate from Power in any Church matters, but where they Produce Divine Commiſſion expreſsly or conſequentially, which will hold good againſt any natural Right of the People, were ſuch natural Rights as real as they are only imaginary; nor do the

the Clergy of the Church of *England* aſſume to themſelves any ſhare in the Limited Right of preſcribing Terms of Communion, which either amounts to make Peoples Religion be intirely at their diſpoſal, or which is not warranted by Divine Commiſſion or Catholick Practice.

Nor do they pretend to be ſuch Sovereign Interpreters of Scripture as is the ſame with a Right to make Scripture: The Clergy have certainly more Right to expound Scripture than others, if for no other Reaſon but that *peritis in ſua arte credendum*; and if their Interpretations paſſing as Authoritatively as he wou'd inſinuate, were making of Scripture, then every Man having a Right to Interpret it his own way without Appeal, muſt be ſaid to make Scripture as much as they. Right Reaſon aſſiſted by God's Spirit, is the undoubted Judge of Scripture; and where Reaſon promiſes the faireſt to be Righteſt, and the nature of the Office making the aſſiſtances of that Spirit more immediately neceſſary, makes it moſt probable that they are not deny'd, from their Mouths (though not Commanded by God) People have moſt reaſon to ſeek the knowledge of it, and depend upon them.

Auth. 33. In ſhort, Men cannot have a Right to the End, but they muſt likewiſe have to the Means; and conſequently if they are obliged to Worſhip God as they think

think moſt agreable to his Will, they muſt have an inherent Right of ordering all ſuch Things as they Judge neceſſary to the End.

E Contr. Then the Magiſtrate and Miniſtry cannot have a Right to the End, but they have a Right to the Means; the End both of their Offices and Inſtitutions is to promote true Religion, and Extinguiſh falſe, which includes ſome Right of determining which are ſo; and if Prieſts are obliged to conduct Men to Heaven, by Worſhipping of God, they muſt have a Right to be Prœmonſtrators of the way, and have at leaſt ſome directive Authority in ordering the Neceſſaries for the Journey.

People are obliged to Worſhip God as is moſt agreable to his Will; 'tis his Will that in things Extra-fundamental the ſubmit themſelves to the diſpoſal of their Governors and Guides, *Submit your ſelves to every ordinance of Man, for the Lord's Sake, for ſo is the Will of God*, and whatever Right Men may have by the Law of Nature, not to be preſcribed to in Religion, as I believe they have none, by the Law of Charity and Peace, of Order and Unity, and by the Law of God they are forbid to inſiſt upon it.

Auth. 34. Nothing can be more Abſurd than maintaining there muſt be two Independent

pendent Powers in the ſame Society; otherwiſe the Chriſtian Religion cou'd not have Subſiſted when the Magiſtrate was not of it: Since till the coming of Chriſt, all Religious Societies which were not of the Magiſtrate's Perſuaſion, (and I may add thoſe that were, except they were ſo becauſe it was his) did ſubſiſt by this Natural Right without ever dreaming of an *Imperium in Imperio*.

E Contr. The Right Chriſtianity ſubſiſts by, is the Power of God, as 'tis his Inſtitution, who continually Preſerves and Guards it againſt the Gates of Hell; and has promiſed to do ſo to the end of the World, without being beholden to any natural Right to ſubſiſt upon, or any Humane Aſſiſtances; and Chriſt is much obliged indeed to the Aſſerter for finding out ſuch a Foot for his Church to ſtand upon.

Beſides, his Natural Right allow'd, is it ſelf ſo much an *Imperium in Imperio*, as nothing can be more, having to all intents and purpoſes the ſame Effects upon Government and Magiſtrates, with that which he ſo declaims againſt in the Clergy, and againſt which all his Arguments lye as fully; all the difference is, that his Right of Independent Power is deriv'd by a different Chanel from Divine natural, inſtead of Divine Poſitive Inſtitution, and what is gain'd by doing ſo, is only allowing the Chriſtian Worſhip

Worſhip no advantage more than others have, and making each other Religion have sa good a Right to ſubſiſt as it has, which is an Extraordinary Right of the Chriſtian Church Aſſerted, that ſhe has no proper Right to Subſiſt by, but the ſame Natural Right which every other Religion has as much as ſhe.

He will alſo extenuate the Crime of the firſt Perſecutions. The Roman Emperours by his Hypotheſis, that Perſecuted Chriſtianity, being Guilty of no more than every Chriſtian Magiſtrate is Guilty of, that hinders the free Exerciſe of all Religions, tho' not Chriſtian in his Territories; nay, thoſe Perſecutions were in ſome meaſure Duties, becauſe the Propagators of Chriſtianity declaring all other Worſhips Unlawful, and dreadfully threat'ning all Religious Perſuaſions but their own, and Preaching up the neceſſity of their Extirpation, did unfairly ſubvert the Natural Right of free Choice of Worſhips, and made it the Magiſtrate's Duty, whoſe buſineſs is to ſee fair Play amongſt Opinions, and that one do not violently Uſurp upon the reſt, amongſt his Subjects, to ſuppreſs it, and puniſh them as much as if they had Preach'd up Robbery, and Murder, *&c.*

Auth. 35. And tho' many Prieſts lay their main ſtreſs on this Argument, which they uſher in upon all occaſions with all the

the Pompous Solemnity imaginable, and Triumph in it as a demonſtrative Proof of their Independent Power; yet alas, the only thing it demonſtrates is, that they are either the moſt Ignorant of all Mankind, in not ſeeing what the Light of Nature made plain to Men of all other Religions, or elſe the moſt Ambitious, *&c.*

E Contr. Thus far is demonſtrative, That the Right and Power of the Chriſtian Church and its Government exerciſed, were not derived from Magiſtrates before they were Chriſtians, and whil'ſt Perſecutors; and 'tis a clear caſe therefore that there are Rights and Powers in the Chriſtian Church Independent on Magiſtrates: And the Queſtion is, Whence thoſe Independent Rights were derived; which Queſtion one wou'd think any Chriſtian might Anſwer without pauſing upon't; for from whence ſhou'd the Powers that Support the Church be deriv'd, but from Chriſt by Commiſſion, and Authority from him? Whence ſhould the Body have its ſupport but from the Head? Whence ſhould a reveal'd, and ſupernatural Religion have 'its Right of ſubſiſting but from Supernatural Cauſes and Divine Gifts and Privelege? The Queſtion has been often enough put to, and anſwer'd by Chriſt himſelf, his Apoſtles, the Primitive Chriſtians, and Martyrs, who being ſo often brought before Kings and Rulers to give an account of their Religion, and having this Queſtion askt, Who gave

you

you this Power and this Authority of Preaching, Acting, Profeſſing, Regulating as you do? By whoſe Commiſſion, and with what Right do you take upon you to Propagate this New Religion, in Contradiction to the Laws, Powers, and Senſe of the World? Gave ſtill the ſame Teſtimony, that it was in purſuance of Divine Order and Commiſſion, by a Right Superior to that which all Religions ſubſiſt by. Not one of them ever ſaid it was by Virtue of a Natural Right, which Mankind had of forming themſelves as they pleas'd in Religion, or urged that in defence of the Church, which yet was an Anſwer ſo obvious, as well as level to the Capacities of their Interrogators, that they cou'd not have fail'd of making it, had they dream't of any ſuch Natural Right. But the Author, who from the Character of an Aſs —— is fallen to that of a De —— ſerter of the Right of the Chriſtian Church, is reſolv'd that ſhe ſhall go without any Right of ſubſiſting at all, rather than have any Divine one from Chriſt her Founder, leſt the Clergy ſhou'd become Intitled to ſome ſhare in it; and has found out a new way for the Church to have that Independent Power which he ſee's can't be got off from, being deriv'd to her, by a Right of Nature forſooth; ſo that he has brought down his Chriſtian Rights at laſt to be Natural ones, and made Chriſtian Churches ſo many Deiſtical Aſſociations, having no foundation to ſtand upon but an Old Formative

Righ

Right, which he has found out; which if ſome greater Aſſerter than he ſtarting up, ſhou'd find a flaw in, and pull from under her, or prove this Natural Settlement, which he makes all the Joynture Chriſt has provided for his Spouſe the Church, to ſubſiſt, and Maintain her ſelf by a Forgery, ſhe muſt fall to the ground, left utterly deſtitute to be juſtly Exterminated by every Magiſtrate that thinks, fit.

Indeed ſhe may as well have no Right to ſubſiſt by, as this Natural one, which ſhe had as good be without; for 'tis not the Right its ſelf, but Mens accidental Determination of it in her Favour that muſt ſupport her, which Determination is much likelier to turn againſt her, than for her, and draw off her Members kept together by no other Cement but their Humours, without the neceſſary Connexion of Joynts, Bands, and Ligaments with each other, and their Head, in which the Strength of her Conſiſtence lies, and ready to fall a-ſunder of themſelves: This Natural Right, I ſay, will much more likely draw 'em to other Religious Communities more agreeable to Nature, and more acceptable to Fleſh and Blood, to the ſupport of whom, rather than of Chriſtianity, Nature will Stronglier prompt Men to have her Rights made uſe of.

Auth. 36. The Clergy generally ſpeaking, affirm that God has appointed for every Chriſtian Nation, two Governments Independent

Independent of each other, one for Eccleſiaſtical, t'other for Civil Matters; and that both have, as without which no Government can Subſiſt, a Legiſlative and Executive Power, and that one of thoſe Governments, to Wit of the Church belongs to them by a Divine unalterable Right, convey'd from Chriſt and his Apoſtles who empower'd 'em to Rule the Church to the End of the World; *&c.*

E Contr. The Clergy Generally ſpeaking, and the Laity no leſs generally concurring with them in it, makes it the Voice of Chriſtendom; and I wonder with what Face he ſhou'd oppoſe it, or how he ſhou'd come to think that the Ratiuncle of a Petty Scribler ſhou'd be hearken'd to againſt ſuch Authority.

Auth. ib. The Conſequence of which is, that their's is the moſt Abſolute, Arbitrary, Unlimited, Uncontrolable Power in the World, *&c.*

E Contr. When the Author has done his utmoſt, and miſrepreſented the Clergies Power and Rights, with all the ill natured Art that he is Maſter of, under the invidious Names of Rule, Dominion, Spiritual Empire, calling Men their Spiritual Subjects, *&c.* yet ſtill Men will believe their own Eyes, and ſee how far the Clergy of

the Church of *England* are from being thoſe Emperours and Tyrants he wou'd have them thought.

What the Clergy of the Church of *England* claim by Divine Right, is the Adminiſtration of Publick Worſhip, Preaching the Goſpel, *Ex officio*, and Authoritatively, and the Power of the Keys, ſo far as is neceſſary for the due Execution of this Predication and Adminiſtration, which can't be leſs than a diſcretionary Right of admitting and excluding; of knowing as how, ſo to whom the Sacraments ought to be Adminiſter'd, and the word Preached, and preſcribing Methods, as well for their more decent and orderly, as more Succeſsful Adminiſtration.

And *Firſt*, How far then is this whole Power from being Abſolute, that is reſtrain'd to ſo few Particulars, and thoſe of that Nature which they are.

Secondly, How far from being the moſt Arbitrary Power in the World, and Unlimited, that is ſo ſtraightly tyed up, and confined every way, within its proper bounds, in its exerciſe.

Firſt, By the Law of God, which is their Rule and Commiſſion, determining them as to Subſtantials and in Circumſtantials leaves them not much Latitude, it being not

not enough that they Act nothing in contradiction to Scripture, as 'tis in Civil Government, without a Positive Conformity to it.

2dly, By the Laws of their Country, against which they become Transgressours, and are punishable as Members of the Commonwealth by their own Consent, shou'd they attempt Excesses.

3dly, By there own more Personal Acts and Deeds, in their Canons, by which in their Ecclesiastick Capacity, as Church Officers, under the Magistrate, as their Ecclesiatical Supreme, they have Circumscribed themselves in all the parts of their Divine Claims.

And 3dly, How are they Incontrolable whose Powers in their Exercise move so much under command and by direction, that they are compellible, *First*, To put them forth, and to do the Duties of their Calling in their several Stations, and *Secondly*, Are doubly Corrigible if they do them amiss.

Indeed the Powers and Government of the Clergy is not so properly a Dominion as a Service, not Despotical but Ministerial, for as Christ's Kingdom is not of this World, who came not into it to be Ministred unto, but to Minister, so such

a King as he was, Crowned with Thorns, and a Reeden Scepter, ſuch mock Emperours does the Author make his Poor Officers.

By Authority derived from him, their Ruling well, tho' it makes them worthy of double Honour, an Honourable Eſteem, and an Honourable Maintenance, yet 'tis well if it come off with either; Work, Waiting and Attendance, are the general Fruits of their Authority, but were there more Domination in it than there is, and that Domination of another nature than it is, not devoted to the Good and Edification of others, but to aggrandize themſelves; yet ſtill if neither the conſideration who Inſtituted, nor the end for whoſe ſake he Inſtituted it, and who are the Gainers by it, can reſtrain Men from envying, yet they can't reaſonably begrudge it, becauſe 'tis not like the Levitical Prieſthood of Old, confined to a Single Tribe, but the Door of Ordination ſtands equally Open to all, that think fit Regularly to enter; and he that Envies the Miniſtry their Power and Character probably may or might have been himſelf one of the Order, which is free to all, and that any one is not of the Number, is for one or t'other of theſe Reaſons, that he wou'd not, or that he willing cou'd not, if he wou'd not, which is the General Reaſon (Men or their Friends for them chooſing to tread leſs laborious ways of Life for Worldly Gain, greatneſs and Pleaſure

ſure than the Miniſterial Empire, as the Author calls it) why does he yet complain of his own Choice? Or envy his Rejection? If being willing and deſirous, he was not capable or wanted mean's to be train'd up to the Function, he muſt quarrel with Providence and the Law of his Country, not the Miniſtry who are not chargeable with his or any Man's Secluſion.

Auth. ib. If that (the poſſibility of two Independent Powers in the ſame Society) proves to be repugnant to the Nature of things, the whole Hierarchy as built on it, muſt neceſſarily Fall to the Ground, and great will be the Fall of this Spiritual *Babylon*.

E Contr. But ſince Independent Power in the Church, inſtead of being repugnant to the Nature of Things, is not only Conſonant, but built upon Divine Inſtitution, ſupported and follow'd by Catholick Conſent and Practice from the Apoſtles to this Day; then the Hierarchy I hope is ſafe, and the Author inſtead of demoliſhing Spiritual *Babylon*, is building up the Towers of it, in one of which in Obedience to his looſer Inclinations, he might converſe with that Ideal Whore of the Name, Become a Perſonal one, which dutyfully and decently he wou'd have his Mother the Church of *England* to be thought; it wou'd be a proper Conjunction

Conjunction to Propagate a race of Young Antichriſtian Aſſerters from, to try to confound the Church in the next Generation as he has done in this, as the Vindicating the Concubinal Practice wou'd have made ſo pretty a Chriſtian Right for him to have Aſſerted, and ſo well Suted to the reſt, either by way of Mens being in thoſe Caſes, ſtill in the State of Nature, or as a thing Indifferent, that 'tis pity 'tis left out.

F I N I S.

BOOKS Printed for W. TAYLOR, *at the* Ship, *in* St. Paul's *Church-yard.*

THE Book of Common Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacrament, according to the uſe of the Church of *England*; with the *Pſalms* of *David*, Paraphraſed; together with the Lives of the Apoſtles, and an Account of the Original of the Faſts and Feaſts of the Church; with ſeveral of the Rubricks Occaſionally explained, by *William Nichols*, D. D.

A Thorough Examination of the falſe Principles, and Fallacious Arguments advanced againſt the Chriſtian Church, Prieſthood and Religion; in a late Book, Irronically intituled, *The Rights of the Chriſtian Church* aſſerted, in a Dialogue, between *Demas* and *Hierarcha*, humbly offered to the conſideration of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*; by *Samuel Hill*, Rector of *Kilmington*, and *Archdeacon*, of *Wells*.

BRITISH 17SE72 MUSEUM

Three

Three ſhort Treatiſes (*Viz.*) 1. A modeſt Plea for the Clergy, (2) a Sermon of the Sacerdotal Benediction, *&c.* (3) a Diſcourſe Publiſhed, to undeceive the People in point of Tythes, *&c.* formerly Printed, and now again Publiſhed by Doctor *George Hickes*, in Defence of the Prieſthood and true Rights of the Church, againſt the ſlanderous and reproachful Treatment of the Clergy; in a late Book of pernicious and Blaſphemous Doctrines, falſly intituled, *The Rights of the Chriſtian Church.*

A Practical Diſcourſe of Repentance, rectifying the miſtakes about it; eſpecially ſuch as lead either to preſumption or deſpair, perſwading and directing to the true Practice of it, and demonſtrating the invalidity of a Death-Bed-Repentance; by *W. Payne*, D. D. late Rector of St. *Mary White Chappel*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to their Majeſties.

An Univerſity Oration, concerning the different Fates of the Chriſtian Religion, ſpoken in the Publick Act of the Univerſity of *Geneva*, the Eleventh Day of *May*. A. D. 1708. in which the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy is Aſſerted, Separation on the account of Ceremony is Condemn'd, and an Univerſal Conformity of the Proteſtant Churches to the Ancient Diſcipline and Worſhip is wiſhed for, by *John Alphonſus Turettin*, Paſtor Profeſſor of Divinity, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and Deputy Rector of the Univerſity. Dedicated to the Society for the Propogation of the Goſpel in Forreign Parts.

At

AT the Author's Request, the Reader is here forewarned of the following Miſtakes, which he thinks moſt likely to puzzle the Sence; and for other Literal ones, and thoſe of falſe Punctuation, occaſioned by his neceſſary abſence, and diſtance from the Preſs: He hopes the Reader's Candour will as eaſily forgive, as his judicious Eye will Correct and Excuſe him, as he does the Preſs for them.

ERRATA in the PREFACE.

PAge 18 l. 2 any thing r. nothing. 19 l. 22. for Vulgar, r. Vulgars. 20 l. 23 for had not, r. had. 30 l. 19 leave out (but) before the words by repreſentatives. 38 l. 25. for no Reaſons, r. or Reaſons. 47 l. 33 uneaſy r. unſafe, *ibid*, l. 16 for top, r. topt. 50 l. 32 for Holds in r. Holding. 53 l. 15 for from him r. from them. 64 l. 14 for enjoyning r. enjoying. 66 l. 5 for made r. made in. *Ibid.* l. 11. *Recti Incuria*, r. *Recti in Curia* 69 l. 13 for immediately r. and as immediately. 76 l. 1 for recalled r. repealed. 100 l. 23 for Perſuading r. pervading. 103 l. 21 for Circumſpections, r. Circumſcriptions. 106 l. 25 for his Biſhop r. a Biſhop. 107 l. 23 for Falls r. Fall. 109 l. 33 for Presbiterial r. Presbyteral. 111 l. 17 for parts of Rural r. Rural parts. 113 l. 32 for inſignation r. inſignition. 116 l. 21 leave out (is) before as Sacred, without any ſtop at the words, *Jure Divino*. 130 for ποιμενει r. ποιμενες. 133 l. 10. but imperfection r. perfection p. 136 l. 9 for then they were the *Diaconical* r. then was the *Diaconical* Office.

In the INTRODUCTION.

PAge 8 l. 2 for party, Read parly. 9 l. 19 for Power r. Powers. 10 l. 24 for could not, r. wou'd not. 11 l. 7 for Atome r. Atoms. 12 l. 26 for immination r. imminution. 15 l. 4 for other r. others. *ibid*, l. 10 for a grant r. the grant. 16 l. 8 for Corporeal r. Corporal. 25 l. 14 for two in Number r. Number two. 26 l. 26 for much r. ſo much. 28 l. 11 for Blinded r. Blended. 40 l. 9 for deciſive r. defenſive, *ibid* l. 26 (and as that no Man) r. that no Man. 41 l. 19 for born to it r. born in it. 48 l. 4 for judicial r. juridical. 49 l. 18 after Becoming each Character (add) made more ασύγκλωστα. 64 l. 14 for then many r. then in any. 76 l. 33 for or proſecutions r. perſecuters. 79 l. 1 indificients r. indifferents. 92 l. 29 for attributed r. Contributed. 110 l. 1 for decliming r. declaiming. 134 l. 9 for fairly r. Fouly. 143 l. 23 for right r. Rights.

Note, after Page 128 in the INTRODUCTION, R. 129 and ſo on; Inſtead of 119 &c.